THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY AND BOSTON REVIEW — 1803-1811: LITERARY EXCELLENCE AS INTERPRETED BY "A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN"

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THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY AND BOSTON REVIEW - 1803-1811:

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY AND BOSTON REVIEW

In November of 1803 Boston witnessed the birth of a magazine entitled the Monthly Anthology, or Magazine of Polite Literature.[1] The editor of this publication was David Phineas Adams,[2] who used the pseudonym "Sylvanus Per-Se." Adams, a recent graduate of Harvard College, was in charge of the magazine, as well as its chief contributor, from November 1803 through April 1804. He relinquished the editorship after a short period of six months, and in May of 1804 the "Sylvanus Per-Se" had disappeared. The early contributors and Messrs, Munroe and Francis, the printers who had been in charge of

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[1]Through May, June, and July of 1804, it was called The Monthly Anthology: or, Massachusetts Magazine. In August, it became The Monthly Anthology, and Boston Review.

[2]Phineas Adams, the son of a farmer, always had the desire for "elegant learning," but because of poverty, had to accept work as a paper-maker. Mrs. Foster, author of "Coquette," became interested in Adams and made it possible for him to attend Harvard College. Having failed with the Anthology, Adams taught school for a few years, and then entered the Navy as a chaplain and teacher of mathematics. He went to the Pacific with Commodore David Porter, served in the war with Great Britain, and never again returned to New England. He died in the West Indies in 1823. (Josiah Quincy, History of the Boston Athenaeum, pp. 1-2.)

publishing the magazine, offered the position of editor to Reverend William Emerson, pastor of the First Church of Boston. He accepted, and under his skillful leadership and with the assistance of several friends who formed the nucleus of what later was to be the Anthology Society, the magazine came into its own as a prominent publication of the times. In January of 1805 Emerson affixed a preface to the first fourteen numbers, bound as Volume I. The following excerpts from the exceptionally lengthy preface will serve to show the purpose and intent of the men who were to be held responsible for the success or failure of the magazine:

> Although we have the feelings of a parent for the publication before us, yet it may be proper to declare to the world, that it is not indebted to us for its birth, nor was it born in our house. We knew neither its father nor mother, nor hardly of its existence, until, naked, hungry, and helpless, it was brought and laid at our door. . . . He shall attend Theatres . . . Museums . . . Assemblies . . . contrive with the artisan . . . plough lands with the farmer . . . seas with the sailor . . . make songs with the lover . . . LET NO FLOWER OF THE SPRING PASS BY HIM, AND CROWN HIMSELF WITH ROSE-BUDS BEFORE THEY BE WITHERED.[3]

The Monthly Anthology lasted eight years--a life span

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[3]The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review, Preface, I, i-iv (December 1804).

which, in comparison with such magazines as Harper's Monthly and The Atlantic Monthly seems, in retrospect, insignificant. But the Anthology lasted longer than most magazines of this period. The average was about two years or less.

Many reasons for the Anthology's demise become apparent, when one considers the problems confronting any publication of the first part of the nineteenth century. Mott states that "no successful national magazine or review was published in the Period of Nationalism. All the prominent magazines before 1825 were supported by the contributions of local coteries and by subscriptions drawn chiefly from within a radius of fifty miles."[4]

The Post Office Act of 1794 did little in the way of encouraging magazine subscription. The act stated that magazines were to be carried only when the form of conveyance and the size of the mails would permit. The cost in postage, which was borne by the subscriber, "amounted to eight cents a copy of a 64-page octavo magazine which had been carried over a hundred miles, six cents for distances between fifty and a

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[4]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850, I, 200.

hundred miles, and four cents when carried less than fifty miles."[5] The time delay in one's receiving a publication no doubt contributed to the lack of interest in magazine subscription. In writing of the physical condition of the country in 1800, Henry Adams commented:

> In the year 1800 one general mail-route extended from Portland in Maine to Louisville in Georgia, the time required for the trip being twenty days . . . between Petersburg and Augusta the mail was carried thrice a week. Branching from the main line at New York, a mail went to Canadargua in ten days; from Philadelphia another branch line went to Lexington in sixteen days, to Nashville in twenty-two days.[6]

American literature was in its infancy, and few American authors whose labors could satisfy a critical body of intellectuals were to be found. "It is owing mainly to some glaring faults in our scheme of widespread superficial education," comments one writer, "that we are harrassed with a class of authors . . . who are incomparably more numerous here, in proportion, than in any other country." He refers

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[5]Mott, quoting from U. S. Statutes at Large, Third Congress, Session I, Chapter 23, Sec. 22. Enacted May 8, 1794.

[6]Henry Adams, History of the United States, I, 14.

to those, "who have triumphed over an audience in some species of occasional discourse, orations, sermons, & who have occupied the poet's corner, or a column of a newspaper, or whose vanity and attainments are shewn in the meanest manner, in eulogies and characters of deceased insignificance."[7] "American literature," laments another writer for the Anthology,

> is not a tract where we expect any regular annual product, or where we are sure of constant improvements from the hand of well directed industry; but it is rather a kind of half cleared and half cultivated country, wh ere you may travel till you are out of breath, without starting any rare game, and be obliged to sit down day after day to the same coarse, insipid fare. Of this however, we are confident, that, as long as the price of paper in England continues so high, our presses will teem with republished novelties.[8]

The Society was well aware of its responsibilities and the obstacles which lay in its way. It was, in many ways, a labor of love and provided many hours of convivial fellowship. "As it was begun without any sanguine expectations of success," states a writer in the Address for the Fifth volume, "the mortification of disappointment was precluded; and the proprietors, satisfied with a subscription sufficient to defray the

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[7] Monthly Anthology, VI (June, 1809), 5.

[8] Ibid.

expense of publication, have cheerfully continued their labours,[9] without the prospect or desire of pecuniary remuneration."[10] The members realized too, "that the Anthology has never been a favourite with the publick at large, nor were they ambitious of popularity; since they scorned to discuss the trifling topicks of the day, and to gratify the malice of tattling gossips with the little tales of private slander."[11]

The problem of additional assessments to defray the expenses of their rented quarters, the difficulties arising from arrangements with printing houses, and the anxiety of the people prior to the War of 1812, hastened the dissolution of the Monthly Anthology.

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[9]Hereafter instances of archaic spelling will not be noted.

[10]Ibid., V (January, 1808), 1.

[11]Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE ANTHOLOGY SOCIETY

The typical magazine of the early 1800's was at a disadvantage in obtaining authors. Just to mention one example, Joseph Dennie, editor of the Philadelphia Port Folio, often had to appeal to his readers for contributions. But the Monthly Anthology had an organization which held itself responsible for the material which issued forth from this publication. Weekly meetings were held for the expressed purpose of assigning reviews to be written of recently published works--both foreign and domestic--as well as specifying the individuals who would be responsible for original articles for the "Silva" and "Remarker" departments.

Before consideration can be given to the journal, it is necessary that attention be directed to the fourteen original members comprising the Society, members subsequently elected as well as corresponding members, and to note the ability and high intellectual level of each of the members.

A. Original Members

The fourteen original members, as listed by M. A.

DeWolfe Howe,[1] are John Sylvester John Gardiner,[2] William Emerson, Arthur Maynard Walter, William Smith Shaw, Samuel Cooper Thacher, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, Joseph Tuckerman, William Tudor, Jr., Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, Thomas Gray, William Wells, Edmund Trowbridge Dana, John Collins Warren, and James Jackson.

a. The president of the Society from October 3, 1805 through December 11, 1810 was John Sylvester John Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church Boston, 1805-1830. His father had studied law in London and had been admitted to the English bar. Young Gardiner, who was born in South Wales in 1765, spent much of his youth in England, studying under Dr. Damuel Parr, "whose strict discipline and thorough classical training helped form the leading traits of Gardiner's character and mind." After having studied law for a short time, he turned to divinity. Because of his affiliation with the Church of England, he was "not prevented by the isolation of his clerical

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[1]M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Journal of the Proceedings of the Society Which Conducts The Monthly Anthology & Boston Review, October 3, 1805 to July 2, 1811, pp. 298-299.

[2]This is Gardiner's given name.

character from taking an active part in affairs and his actions was [sic] sometimes greater than his discretion."[3] Commenting on his political sermons, Adams says that they "rivalled those of the Congregational ministers Osgood and Parish, in their violence against Jefferson and the national government; his Federalism was that of the Essex Junto, with a more decided leaning to disunion."[4] Gardiner was pro British and antagonistic toward France, as he explains in his pamphlet, Remarks on the Jacobiniad, published in 1795.[5]

Although Gardiner was prolific in his writing for the Anthology, at least for the first seven volumes (sixty-five out of the total articles are from his pen), his attendance at the weekly meetings left much to be desired. On one occasion, "the President, by proxy, invited the club to dine with him next week, perhaps to expiate his repeated negligence."[6] And in another instance, "some oblique observations were made

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[3]Adams, III, 20.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Dictionary of American Biography, VII, 137-138.

[6]Howe, op. cit., p. 220.

on the absence and neglect of the President, who has appeared but twice at club for more than four months and has not afforded a line for nine months."[7] However, when he did attend, he usually "outsmoked midnight," and was reluctant to depart.

b. William Emerson, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was born on May 6, 1769, the son of a Unitarian clergyman. His father, who died early, was minister of the Concord, Massachusetts, church. He prepared for college at Concord and graduated from Harvard in 1789. He was ordained as minister of the Unitarian church at Harvard, Massachusetts, after having taught school for two years. He married and found out that, to provide a reasonable living, he had to teach school and his wife keep boarders. In 1799 Emerson accepted a call to the First Church of Boston, where he served as pastor until his death in 1811.

Emerson's views were very liberal for that day. Evidence is given that he at one time fondly cherished the idea of establishing a church in Washington, based on congregational principles "with no confession of faith, the communion

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[7] Ibid., p. 226.

to be administered freely to all who wished to receive it." Emerson's publications are limited to miscellaneous sermons and orations.[8]

c. Arthur Maynard Walter, born in New York, 1780, died an early death in Boston, 1807. He was secretary of the Society from 1805 through 1807. When he was but fourteen years old he was admitted to Harvard College. He would have graduated in 1798 with high honors but for the fact that he was dissatisfied with the part assigned him at commencement, and his degree was witheld. At this time he transferred to Columbia in New York, and after one year's residence, he received his degree.

Although Walter had spent three years studying law, and had served an apprenticeship, instead of continuing in that profession, he went to Europe, spending two years "devoted by him to self-improvement, to a critical examination of the events and characters of the literary and political world, as it was then passing before the traveller's vision, and to the acquisition of five or six languages in which he had already made

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[8]DAB, pp. 6, 141.

some progress."[9] At the time of his entering the twenty-seventh year of life, he was stricken with consumption, and he passed away on the second day of January, 1807.[10]

Although Walter had lived but a brief span of years, he had already formed firm and endearing friendships with fellow members of the Society. J. S. Buckminster, who was especially fond of Walter, was in London at the time, and the following letter to William S. Shaw, though perhaps over-demonstrative, is indicative of the love between the two:

> O, my dear friend. My heart is full of anguish. Walter dead! When I left you all to come to Europe, the parting was painful in the extreme, but continually relieved by the belief, that I should see you all again. I suspect the last letter he ever wrote was addressed to me. Alas! I cannot read it without tears. My dear Shaw, I wish I was with you, to give vent to my sorrow. I look to the great promises and expectations which the gospel holds out.[11]

d. William Smith Shaw, Treasurer of the Monthly Anthology Society, and librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, was the son of Reverend John Shaw and Elizabeth (Smith) Shaw, the sister of Abigail Adams. Shaw graduated from Harvard College in 1798 and served for two years as private secretary to President

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[9]Felt, Memorials of William Smith Shaw, p. 238.

[10]Quincy, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

[11]Felt, op. cit.

J. Adams in Philadelphia. From 1801 through 1804 he studied law in Boston and became a member of the bar.

Owing to a fall when a child, he developed a lameness in one leg, and this, coupled with a weak constitution, proved to be a hardship which he endured until his death on April 25, 1826. Because of his avid interest in collecting books, all of which he turned over to the Athenaeum, he became known as "Athenaeum Shaw." He was librarian from 1807 to 1822, and worked unceasingly in acquiring books, journals, and pamphlets from home and abroad.

Shaw's interest in books was stimulated by his aunt, Abigail Adams. This early interest found its outlet first in serving Hannah Adams. He carried books to her home, procured subscriptions to her writings, and, when age and infirmities overtook her, raised an annuity for her support and attended to all her affairs.[12]

e. Samuel Cooper Thacher, who was born in Boston in 1785 and died in Moulins, France, 1818, was Librarian of Harvard College from 1808 through 1811, and minister of the New South Church, Boston, from 1811 until 1818.

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[12]DAB, XVII, 49.

Thacher graduated from Harvard with highest honors in 1804, and commenced theological studies under W. E. Channing. He accepted a position as acting headmaster of the Boston Latin School for one year, however, at which time he embarked upon a trip to Europe, serving as a companion to the then ailing Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster.

Thacher accepted the office of Librarian of Harvard College following his return from Europe, and "engaged in the theological discussions of the period, availing himself of the Monthly Anthology as the medium of communicating his views to the public. It was a warfare uncongenial to his temperament, which was remarkably mild and averse to the spirit of controversy, but he felt it to be his duty to enter upon the defence of what he regarded as the great principles of truth and freedom."[13]

In 1810, when John T. Kirkland was called to the Presidency of Harvard College, Thacher replaced him as the pastor of the New South Church in Boston. Having contracted a pulmonary disease, he went to England, and then France, where he died on January 2, 1818.[14]

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[13]Quincy, op. cit., p. 47.

[14]DAB, XVIII, 391-2.

f. J. S. Buckminster, son of Reverend Joseph Buckminster, was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1784, and was graduated from Harvard in 1800. In 1805 he received a call from the Brattle Street Church, and served as pastor until his decease, in 1812. During the last year of his life he was Lecturer on Biblical Criticism at Harvard.

Reverend Buckminster was one of the first ministers in the Boston area to express his doubts about the Calvinistic theories pertaining to the Trinity and Christ's relation to God. Throughout his lifetime he wrestled with the problem, slowly working toward what we know today as Unitarianism. Buckminster's relationship with his father was strained, but only in regard to theological truths. Perhaps the most pronounced example of their differences in settling the essentials of Christian belief, and the futility of either winning over the other, is evidenced by the following excerpt from a letter written by the father to his son:

> If you are fixed and settled on the sentiment that Jesus Christ is not a Divine person, nor any thing more than a created messenger of God, and that the business of his coming into the world was only to publish truth, and to attest the truth that he published with his blood, and give hope and confirmation of a resurrection, but not to make atonement and satisfaction for sin, and if there is no hope of your having different views upon these points, it is best for you to think of some other

> profession than the ministry; you had better be a porter on the wharf than a preacher with such views.[15]

g. Joseph Tuckerman was born in Boston in 1778, and, as was the custom, attended Harvard College, graduating in 1798. In 1801 he was ordained to a pastorate in Chelsea, one in which he was to serve his entire life.

During the period of his ministry he formed the Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Improvement of Seamen, the first of its kind in the United States. He went further in serving the needs of the indigent when he started, in Boston, a "ministry-at-large," which was, actually, a city mission for the poor. In 1834 he went to England for a year and established similar missions in London and Liverpool, and his influence soon became felt even in France. He was very devoted, and labored solely for the good of others. As late as 1888 there existed a society of ladies who called themselves "Tuckerman Poor's Purse." In 1836 Tuckerman went to Santa Cruz and then to Havana, Cuba, where he died in 1838.[16]

h. William Tudor, born in Boston, January 28, 1779, was the brother of Frederic Tudor, the founder of the ice trade

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[15]Eliza Bookminster Lee, Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminister, D. D., And of His Son Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminister, p. 147.

[16]DAB, XIX, 46.

with South America. In 1823 he was appointed United States consul of Lima and Peru and four years later went to Rio de Janeiro as charge d'affairs, where he contracted fever and died. Tudor published three works which have been considered to be of considerable worth. In 1820 he published Letters on the Eastern States, a work concerning manners, politics, and religion. This was followed by a group of light essays entitled Miscellanies. The last work and perhaps the one for which he is best known is the Life of James Otis of Massachusetts. William Tudor founded the North American Review in 1815 and was its editor as well as its largest contributor for the first four volumes.[17]

i. Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, the older brother of Samuel Cooper Thacher, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, in December 1776. He graduated from Harvard College in 1796, and was admitted to Suffolk bar in 1803. He pursued his profession until 1823, whereupon he accepted an appointment as Judge of Municipal Court of the City of Boston, which he held until 1843, the year of his death.[18]

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[17]Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, American Authors 1600-1900, A Biographical Dictionary of American Literature, p. 764.

[18]Quincy, op. cit., p. 46.

j. The only information the author could find on Thomas Gray was that he was born in Boston in 1772, died in Roxbury, 1847, and was minister of the Third Church in Roxbury, 1793-1847.

k. Although his father was a prominent Unitarian clergyman, and an intimate friend of the celebrated Dr. Priestley, William Wells did not choose the ministry as a career. He was born in England, and in his twentieth year the family moved to America. Wells entered Harvard College in the last term of the junior year of 1795. Having attended college in England, where he studied under Gilbert Wakefield, the celebrated classical scholar, Wells received much praise at Harvard for his attainments in Latin and Greek classics.

From 1804 until 1815 he was a bookseller in Boston. At this time he entered a partnership with Robert Lilly. In 1830 Wells severed his connection with Lilly and moved to Cambridge, where he successfully conducted a classical school for boys. William Wells outlived most of his fellow Society friends, dying in April 1860, at eighty-seven years of age.[19]

1. Edmund Trowbridge Dana, uncle of Richard H. Dana, Jr.,

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[19]Joseph Palmer, Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College 1851-52 to 1862-63, pp. 293-4.

author of Two Years Before the Mast, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1779. He was a Justice of the Peace and founder of the Dana Library in Cambridge.[20]

The two members who remain to be considered were not only of the medical profession, but were very close friends, as well.

m. John Collins Warren, born in 1778, was valedictorian of his class at Harvard and one of the founders of the Hasty Pudding Club. In 1799 he went abroad to London, Edinburgh, and Paris, and studied under the foremost surgeons of that time. In 1802 Warren assisted his father, also a surgeon, with his lectures at the Harvard Medical School. An able surgeon, young Warren did amputations, removed cataracts, and was the first surgeon in America to operate for strangulated hernia. On October 16, 1846, Warren gave the first public demonstration of ether anesthesia, and he received much credit for being the first person to make extensive use of this indispensable discovery of medicine.

Warren's first important publication was Surgical Observations on Tumours with Cases and Operations; he later

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[20]DAB, XIX, 480.

published Physical Education and the Preservation of Health (1845), and The Preservation of Health (1854). The two latter publications went through many editions. Not only was Warren active in his professional field, but also in reform work, experimental farming, and physical fitness programs.[21]

n. The other member of the "physician team," was James Jackson, born in 1777. He received his M. D. from Harvard in 1809. He went to London in 1799 and remained there a year, working at St. Thomas's Hospital. It was here that he learned the technique of vaccination, a technique that had been only recently discovered. Soon after his return from England, he advertised his ability to vaccinate, and it apparently proved successful. It is said that "he was the first in America to investigate vaccination in a scientific spirit." Jackson was instrumental in reorganizing the Harvard Medical School, and largely responsible for the founding of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

His major publication, Letters to a Young Physician (1855), proved to be very readable as well as technically sound, and it has remained one of the classics of American

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[21] DAB, XIX, 480.

medical literature.[22]

B. Members Elected Subsequently

Of the members of the Society who were elected subsequently, there are several who are especially significant and who may be considered representative of the group as a whole.

a. Although John T. Kirkland was not elected for membership until October 16, 1806, he was one of the most prominent personalities of the Society. He served as vice president from December 12, 1809 to February 5, 1811, whereupon he served as president for the remaining months the Society was in existence.

Reverend Kirkland, a Harvard graduate of 1798, served as pastor of New South Church until he became president of Harvard College, November 14, 1810, which position he filled until the day of his resignation, August 27, 1828.

Kirkland had a casualness in appearance as well as a method in his intercourse with society. He wrote his sermons on mere scraps of paper and did not feel it necessary to arrange them in any logical order prior to entering the pulpit. His preaching and conversation also seemingly lacked organization.

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[22] DAB, IX, 545-46.

Yet, "when the result of his research was exhibited in discourse, the steps of a logical process were in some measure concealed by the colouring of rhetoric."[23] Kirkland did a biography of Fisher Ames, considered by one writer to be "one of the most classic productions of an American mind." This same writer points out the "weight and wisdom inherent in such lines taken from Kirkland's Life of Fisher Ames, as, 'He [Ames] did not need the smart of guilt to make him virtuous, nor the regret of folly to make him wise;' and, from the same work, 'The admission of danger implies duty; and many refuse to be alarmed, because they wish to be at ease.'"[24]

Although most of the members mentioned thus far have been of the clergy or medical profession, there were members who were active in the business side of life. One such man was Benjamin Welles, a Harvard graduate of 1800. a. Although he studied law with the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, and was a member of the Suffolk Bar, he did not actively pursue the profession. In 1804 he journeyed abroad with Washington Allston, the artist. And in 1812 he became the sole agent of an iron-

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[23]James Spear Loring, The Hundred Boston Orators, p. 289.

[24]Ibid., pp. 288-290.

mining company. Four years later he went into partnership with a cousin, the Hon. John Welles, in an auxiliary house in Boston to the banking-house of Welles and Co. of Paris.[25] Welles died on the twenty-first of July, 1860, 78 years of age.

b. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, a cousin to John Sylvester John Gardiner, was elected to membership on December 27, 1805. He is to be known principally as an agriculturist and public benefactor. At the early age of five, Gardiner inherited the estate of his maternal grandfather, situated on the Kennebec River, in Maine. Although he graduated from Harvard some years later, second in his class, he did not follow a profession; instead, he went to England and France to observe new agricultural and manufacturing methods. Upon his return from his two-year stay, he concentrated on the management of his estate. In this respect, Gardiner made use of his observations, and introduced on his farm, superior breeds of cattle, the most modern machinery, and exceptional grains and fruits. The Gardiner Lyceum, established by him at Gardiner, Maine, was a superior type of vocational school.

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[25]Palmer, op. cit., pp. 349-50.

It offered training not obtainable in the conventional liberal arts education of the period. The aim of the school was to make scientific farmers and skilled mechanics; although it was the first vocational school to receive state aid, interest in the venture lessened, and eventually Gardiner had to give it up. He was a member of the Maine House of Representatives, an overseer of Bowdoin College, and served for eleven years as president of the Maine Historical Society.[26]

c. James Savage, born in 1784, was one of eleven children. Although he was from a large family, financial resources must have been adequate, as Savage attended Harvard, graduating in the class of 1803. Savage's literary endeavors were scholarly and at the time received considerable notice. He edited John Winthrop's history of New England, and the result of this effort was The History of New England from 1630 to 1649, published in 1825-6. This work, in two volumes, was issued as another edition in 1853. The work for which Savage is best known is his Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came before May, 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register. It took 17 years to complete and was published

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[26]DAB, VII, 139.

in four volumes, between 1860 and 1862. His further accomplishments consisted of being responsible for founding the Provident Institution for Savings, in Boston, and serving in the Massachusetts legislature. He was an overseer of Harvard University for fifteen years and at one time president of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Savage had strength in his convictions and often expressed his opinions vehemently. His biting sarcasm shows through many of the reviews he wrote while a member of the Anthology Society.[27]

Other members who contributed substantially to the Monthly Anthology were: Alexander Hill Everett, minister to Spain under Adams, and brother of Edward Everett; Sidney Willard, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages at Harvard for twenty-five years; and, George Ticknor, Smith Professor of the French Languages and Literature at Harvard for eighteen years, and author of the History of Spanish Literature.

C. Corresponding Members

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[27] DAB, XVI, 387-88.

The number of corresponding members far surpasses that of the elected members of the Society. The list, which contains many notable figures of the period, includes: John Pickering, philologist and writer on law, and member of the American Academy of Sciences; Daniel Webster, author, lawyer, and statesman; Andrews Norton, Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature, 1819-1830, at Harvard College; Josiah Quincy, former member of Congress, Mayor of Boston, President of Harvard College, and author of a History of Harvard University, and of a History of the Boston Athenaeum; Levi Frisbie, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity at Harvard, 1817-1822; John Lowell, lawyer and political writer, and author of "Letters from Europe," which appeared in the Monthly Anthology; and, Benjamin Silliman, Professor of Chemistry, Yale University, and founder and editor of the American Journal of Science.[28]

In conclusion, it should be stated that the relative importance of the various individuals who contributed to the Anthology cannot be determined by whether or not they were members of the Society, or merely corresponding members. As

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[28]Howe, op. cit., pp. 299-301.

will be shown later in this paper, many of the members proved to be periodically delinquent with respect to their obligations to the Society; and it can be assumed that offerings by a corresponding member did often exceed the performance of an elected member.

D. Formal Beginning

The formal beginning of the Society may be fixed at October 5, 1805, although several of the members under the direction of William Emerson had operated for more than a year without benefit of a definite organization. Meetings had been held during this period and a Constitution had been prepared, but records were not maintained.[29]

The Articles of the Constitution were not, as a whole, unique. But because they were for a literary club, several rules or regulations are of importance.

The officers were chosen annually by nomination, and these consisted of President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

The Secretary was to keep records of all meetings, and be in charge of all books assigned to the Library of the Society.

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[29]Quincy, op. cit., p. 2.

A Standing Committee of three persons, whose duty it was to provide suitable meeting places, purchase books, and subscribe for publications to be used by the Society, was chosen annually by nomination.

A new member could not be admitted except by unanimous vote of all the members present, and only after he had stood on nomination during four successive meetings of the Society.

Books were assigned to individual members for review, and each review had to be read to the Society before its publication. If objections were raised to any portion of a review, then a committee of three persons was chosen to go over the objectionable portions of the review with the author, and report its findings to the Society at its next meeting.[30]

The officers elected on October 3, 1805, were: John Sylvester John Gardiner, President; William Emerson, Vice President; Arthur Maynard Walter, Secretary; William Smith Shaw, Treasurer; and Samuel Cooper Thacher, Editor.

To obtain an insight into the internal workings of the Society--the problems it had with publishers, the difficulty it had in finding satisfactory places in which to

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[30]Howe, pp. 29-32.

meet, and even the pettiness of injured feelings which arose when members felt that they had received unusually heavy assignments--one need only go to the records of the Minutes, which are contained in the Journal of the Proceedings of the Society.[31]

For the Society to meet at the residences of the members seemed at first quite successful, but later much difficulty was encountered. The individual at whose home the weekly meeting was held was responsible for furnishing the supper. As one would expect, this put a burden on the very few who volunteered the use of their dwellings, and who had to arrange for the serving of meals. One learns that, at the meeting on Friday, December 6, 1805, it was voted, "That a maximum price for suppers be fixed. After much variety of

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[31]The author acknowledges his debt to M. A. DeWolfe Howe, a Trustee of the Boston Athenaeum, who is in possession of a copy of the Journal--the original copy now the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The author realizes, too, that his indebtedness represents unusual dependence on a secondary source; however, he feels that the value to be gained from the journal is necessary to the full treatment of the subject. Where reference is made to the meetings of the Club, the title Minutes will be used.

desultory & of necessary talk, this maximum was voted to be $9. & it was understood, that the Supper-furnishers should not be exempted from the assessment."[32] In the summer of 1806 the Society was meeting at the rooms of a Mr. Field, and the Society had contracted for a Mr. Cooper to furnish suppers at $5. per meeting. But in November of 1807, the Society was meeting in other quarters. The confusion encountered in finding satisfactory meeting places continues throughout most of the Society's existence. In December of 1807 one finds that the Society convened at a Mr. Sanger's on Milk Street, and that little business was transacted, "the members feeling rather wild in a strange room."

Establishing suitable quarters in which to hold meetings may have proved troublesome, but this evidently did not deter the Society members from enjoying themselves in good fellowship. The Society dined before conducting its business and records show that the dinners were above the average and that the "extras" were a matter of course. At the meeting of October 23, 1810, the Society "had a very pleasant supper . . . of very fine ducks." Yet, at the meeting at Sanger's,

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[32]Minutes, p. 49.

mentioned previously, the secretary records that, "The beef was good and the wine bad. Every man did not carry his own segars, as had been previously voted." And on another occasion, they "had a pretty good company to divide a mongrel goose of surpassing beauty."

Evidence that the Club members' social activities away from the Anthology Society meetings were far from staid and formal is also to be found in the Minutes. On April 24, 1807, it is recorded that, because the Sons of St. George had "a convivial meeting on Thursday, the Society assembled for Friday." And despite that the meeting on February 25, 1808 was thin, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Savage . . . went away to Mr. W. Sullivan's ball." Again, on May 8, 1806, the meeting was held, but "most of the members went to a ball in the evening & left Mr. Dana & the Secy to spend a most agreeable evening till past 12 o'clock."[33]

One of the first changes instituted in the bylaws was the expunging of the word "Editor." At the January 9, 1806 meeting, Mr. Samuel Thacher protested that some persons not affiliated with the Society were under the impression

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[33]Minutes, p. 75.

that he was the editor of the publication. Because the Constitution stated that he was the editor, Mr. Thacher threatened to resign his office unless changes be made. The foregoing "gave rise to a little conversation & debate; & it was then voted that the words 'Superintending Committee' be used instead of Editor. With this alteration Mr. Thacher was content & it was understood that this Committee should consist of one member, who should be Mr. Thacher."[34]

The work assignments as a whole were commensurate with the professional abilities and interests of the members. In October of 1805 it was voted that the Society write a retrospect of literature in America for six months; and the assignments were these:

> Editions and translations of the Classics to Mr. Gardiner; Poetry & Belles Lettres to Mr. Dana & S. Thacher; Works on Law to Mr. P. Thacher; Political & historical Works to Mr. Shaw & Mr. Walter; Medicine, Chymistry &c to Drs. Warren & Jackson; & the Theological department to Mr. Emerson, Mr. Buckminster, Mr. Gray & Mr. Tuckerman.[35]

The assignment of work was modified in March of 1807, the result being that a committee was selected to devise a better method for supplying the Anthology. It reported that

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[34] Ibid., p. 54.

[35] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

a standing committee of two persons be appointed semi-annually to report at each meeting the books which warranted review, and at the same time nominating those persons who should be responsible for said reviews. The various departments were assigned to the following member: Literature and polite arts to J. S. J. Gardiner, Buckminster, Kirkland, Field, Willard, and Rev. Mr. Gardiner; a course of study to McKean, Gorham, Emerson, P. Thacher, and Kirkland, and the Remarker to Rev. Gardiner, Savage, Field, R. H. Gardiner, and S. C. Thacher. The Sylva had Sargent, B. Welles, Shaw, McKean, and Tudor. The Poetical department was assigned to Dana, Sargent, and Field. Mr. Shaw and the Secretary were selected to be the Committee on the subject of Reviews.[36] The unequal distribution of work assignments, and the fact that certain individuals were deficient in their contributions, proved irritating to at least several members of the Society. From only a cursory persual of the Minutes one notes frequently the many references to various members being negligent in their duties. Messrs. Thacher and Savage, who were responsible for the "Remarker," a department which featured light

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[36] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

miscellaneous essays, complained, on November 19, 1807, "that they could not write again while the Gentlemen assigned to the department of literature and science were careless of their duties."[37] Although this situation was somewhat rectified, by a general agreement, the problem was again later brought to the fore. On two occasions Savage suggested that an assessment be levied against persons who did not write as promised. On the latter occasion, January 10, 1809, he presented a detailed statement which listed the contributions of the individual members, and which also showed that

> Mr. P. Thacher, Mr. Shaw, Mr. B. Welles, Mr. Wm. Wells had not written a single paragraph in the Anth. for the whole of the last year; that Mr. President, Mr. Buckminster, Mr. S. C. Thacher, Mr. Savage, Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Tudor, Mr. Stickney & Mr. Everett had liberally bestowed their labours and the rest had done little.[38]

Savage's valiant effort, however, was not taken seriously.

The members of the Society were young, the majority of them under 40 years of age. Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner was 40 years old, the senior member of the group, and Rev. Emerson, 37 years old in 1805, the next oldest among the members. As shown in the preceding biographies, the Society

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[37] Ibid., pp. 123-4.

[38] Ibid., p. 171.

was intellectually competent to judge critically all literary types of writings prevalent in this period. All works which involved medicine had to pass the scrutiny of the three physicians--Drs. Warren, Jackson, and Bigelow. Books written by lawyers or those written on law were reviewed by the numerous Society members who were of the legal profession--Ticknor, Everett, and Savage, to mention only three. The clergymen, or "clerical band," numbered Buckminster, Gardiner, Emerson, Tuckerman, Kirkland, and Willard. The field of "belle lettres" was the province of all members, avid readers as they were, and each with diverse talents, and only those works meeting the highest standards received unanimous acceptance.

A selection from Mr. Norton, "which the Society, though much pleased with the gentlemen's labours would not accept on account of its brevity," and "an irregular Poem, called the Storm," which Mr. Buckminster had borrowed from the author, and which the "club did not wish to borrow," are indicative of the manner with which the Society dispensed with selections it considered substandard.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAN OF THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY AND BOSTON REVIEW

The departments and major sections of the Monthly Anthology were established early. When Emerson assumed responsibility in May of 1804, several departments were added and headings of sections were changed. But the makeup of the journal remained basically the same, even though the magazine became more sophisticated and showed greater evidence of scholarship.

For convenience, the journal may be viewed as being comprised of three major sections. These are: Miscellany, which included articles, essays on varied topics, short essay series, travel and other personal letters, addresses from the editors, American and foreign philosophical and literary news and monthly medical reports; Poetry, containing several pages of original and selected offerings; and, The Boston Review, in which the members of the Society and its contributors exercised critical judgement on the books, pamphlets, and sermons appearing during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Although "Catalogue of New Publications" and "Retrospective

Notices of American Literature" are not an integral part of the Boston Review, the material contained therein is closely related to reviews and will be considered in that respect.

Essays, letters, and biographies appeared in each issue; however, they were not included under departmental headings, and they will be examined in another chapter.

A. Miscellany

Departments which contained miscellaneous essays or articles, illustrating ideas or thoughts for moral speculation, were considered very important by the Society. In the early numbers of the Monthly Anthology, conducted under the leadership of Phineas Adams, such departments carried the titles of "The Loiterer," "The Guest," and "The Collectanea; or Magazine in Miniature." Later, when Emerson assumed charge, new departments, containing material of similar nature, appeared. Some of these, such as "The Scrapiad" and "Sans Souci," were soon discontinued, while others were kept for several years or more. Although at least half of these departments featured brief articles or notes of hardly more than six or eight lines, two featured more lengthy essays. An excerpt from an article appearing in one of the earliest, "The Loiterer," is illustrative of the purpose or intent of the essayists who wrote for

the Monthly Anthology:

> While fashion, opinion and manners are perpetually changing, a new scene is always arising for moral speculation. . . . Prejudice is yet alive, and by often concealing our good, brings on consequences most ridiculous and fatal. . . . The satirist will find many subjects for his humour by observing the control of passion; while the grave sentimentalist may largely descant on our industry and enterprise.[1]

The two essay series departments which had the greatest longevity were "Silva," and "The Remarker." The first contained short, anecdotes and comments, and the other, more lengthy essays, usually one to an issue.

"Silva"

The short article essay series which ran the longest in the Monthly Anthology was "Silva." It appeared first in Volume II for March 1805, and continued throughout the last issue, that for June 1811. Many entries were only fifty to seventy-five words in length, although occasionally longer untitled essays were featured, some as long as two hundred and fifty words. Instructional essays were prominent, as in the case of Silva No. 21, which was on the subject of cleanliness. The author, in a note of warning to his female readers, says that

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[1]Monthly Anthology, I (November, 1803), 5.

cosmetics mar the skin, destroying "the swell of the muscles, and the clear blueness of the veins . . . . They also insinuate poison into the body, and soon the fine elasticity of the system gives way to morbid clayiness, and sluggish creeping of the blood succeeds to its former rushing and rapid activity."[2] The writer uses the French woman as an example of beauty; and states that, after her bath, "she is a perfect Venus, risen from the froth of the sea."[3] But for the American female, he does hope that the neglect "has rather arisen from forgetfulness and inattention, than from dislike to purity or sympathy with uncleanliness."[4]

Short, pithy truisms were interspersed among the more lengthy articles. Dr. J. Bigelow submitted to the September 1810 issue an epitaph translated from the Italian, which, in statement, was contrary to the belief that "the common fate of poets was said to be poverty and starvation":

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[2]Ibid., III (November, 1806), 578.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 579.

> Reader, this grave and moss-incumber'd stone
> The mouldering ashes of a poet hold.
> He by his trade subsisted. Reader, think,
> How many lies the rascal must have told.[5]

Savage, in another note equally as humorous, relates that on the "decease of a certain great man, not much beloved, the following was found, inscribed in chalk, upon his coach-house door: 'He that giveth unto the poor, lendeth unto the Lord. N. B. The Lord oweth this man nothing.'"[6]

More serious topics, such as on poets and their works, education, manners, and patriotism, were given consideration. With respect to poets and authors, many contributors were partisan in their views, and writers in vogue were either given acclaim or received condemnation. One author, writing a note about Swift, praises him for his manly thinking, and states that "his style has no ornament, but is close, correct, and terse. . . . If Pope and Goldsmith were studied for harmony of rhyme," then Swift, according to this writer, "should be added, and so create a triumvirate."[7]

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[5]Ibid., IX (September, 1810), 165.

[6]Ibid., (November, 1810), 323.

[7]Ibid., III (February, 1806), 64.

"The Remarker"

The remaining essay department is "The Remarker." Number 1 of this series appeared in September 1805, and No. 45, the last, in August 1809. As was the procedure with respect to "Silva," members of the Society took their turns in writing the monthly essays appearing in "The Remarker."

"The Remarker" featured single essays, one per issue, of a more serious nature than those for "Silva." As an example, the theme for No. 17 is that "every inquisitive person is malicious." J. S. J. Gardiner, the author, lists the types, two of which are "Curio," and "Miss Prywell," and by illustrations advises that "there cannot be a more despicable turn of mind, than this frivolous curiosity about trifles, and restless anxiety to know what does not concern you, and which, after all, cannot be worth knowing." The reader is told to relinquish the occupation then, to those, whom it best becomes: "tattling gossips, envious old bachelors, and disappointed old maids."[8]

In another number, "The Remarker" diverts from "speculations upon literature and inquiries into human conduct and motives," and promotes commercial intercourse as being one

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[8]Ibid., IV (January 1807), 19-20.

of the "principal causes of the physical enjoyment and moral improvement of the people."[9] The author then enumerates the various ages--those periods of barbarism when the lowest enjoyments were considered to be the status quo, and further warns: "When a people, proud of their present attainments, resolve to rest satisfied, and permit their competitors to outstrip them in refinement, contempt, no less than wonder, will arise at such conceited impolicy and contented ignorance."[10] "Some," he confesses, "have seriously regretted that America has interfered in foreign trade, but we believe that nature intended the inhabitants of our sea coast for the merchants of the world; and that every navigable river, every bay, and every indentation on our shore, confirms her intention."[11]

"Editors' Notes"

"Editors' Notes" or, in some instances, "Notes to Correspondents," was, in part, an informal method of informing readers and contributors that which was and was not up to the

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[9] Ibid., (November 1807), 575.

[10] Ibid., 576.

[11] Ibid.

Anthology's standards of scholarship. The following is an example of the latter:

> We received, sometime ago, an ELEGIAC EPISTLE, which contains much poetical imagery expressed by proper and elegant language, together with several conspicuous imperfections. We are unwilling to reject it; yet we choose to delay its publication, till it has undergone a critical revisal of the writer.[12]

The contributors often received little sympathy for their efforts. In one instance, "Xerxes" and "Hesper" are told that their "poetical trifles . . . are too rude to gain a welcome reception,"[13] and in another, that "Canute's 'Essay on the pride of Kings,' is merely a chaos of words."[14]

This particular column was also used as a means for acknowledging errors. Correspondents and readers were urged "to note them, as they may occur in the work, and transmit them for rectification."[15]

"Address of the Editors"

It was the policy of the editors to insert, periodically, editorials or addresses in which they restated their aims, and also commented on the status of the Monthly Anthology. In January 1807 Dr. Kirkland, speaking for the Society, had

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[12] Ibid., I (February, 1804), 146.

[13] Ibid., (January, 1804), 98.

[14] Ibid., (December, 1803), 50.

[15] Ibid., II (February, 1806), 112.

the following to say as justification for the Society's views: "We have aimed to withstand corruptions in literature; and to establish the authority of those laws of composition, which are founded in nature, in reason, and in experience."[16] Then, addressing his remarks more to authors who had had their works reviewed, he continued: "It should be a consolation to writers, disposed to complain of our severity, that we cannot obstruct, if we can retard their entrance into the temple of fame; because time will do that justice to their merits, which we may refuse."[17]

In the address commencing Volume V, a year later, the author admitted that the

> proprietors, satisfied with a subscription sufficient to defray the expense of publication, have cheerfully continued their labours, without the prospect or desire of pecuniary remuneration. . . . They are fully sensible, that the Anthology has never been a favourite with the publick at large, nor where they ambitious of popularity; since they scorned to discuss the trifling topicks of the day, and to gratify the malice of tattling gossips with the little tales of private slander.[18]

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[16] Ibid., IV (January, 1807), 1.

[17] Ibid., 2.

[18] Ibid., V (January, 1808), 1-2.

"American Literary and Philosophical Intelligence"

Not only were articles under this section miscellaneous in content, but also the title for this particular section, as well as subtitles, varied considerably from issue to issue.

In the June 1807 issue, one notices that the title is FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE, and articles from Great-Britain, Sweden, and Germany are featured.

One finds much variety in the "Literary Intelligence." Not only are book notices mentioned, but also scientific phenomena--both of domestic and of foreign origin. After a meteor had exploded over the western part of Connecticut in December of 1807, an article concerning this phenomenon appeared under "Intelligence." The fragments had been sent to Yale College; and as it was the first time a substance of a particular species of meteor had been found in the United States, the author, in entering a plea for further cooperation from interested peoples, said: "We request Gentlemen who may have observed it in distant parts of the state to favour the public with their observations. It is desirable to ascertain the course or direction of the meteor; the point of compass in which it appeared at different places; its general appearance and velocity; the manner of its explosion, and

the time between the explosion and the report."[19]

The articles and notices contained in "Intelligence" were culled from domestic and foreign sources; and although the Society did not author such offerings, it was, of course, responsible for their inclusion.

"Medical Report"

The "Medical Report" was, in essence, a "Statement of Diseases" for the month of publication. One of the most unusual articles was on remedies for Scarlatina, which had appeared in November of 1806. The author proceeds to give the treatment that a Dr. Curry of England had found effective. The practice consisted of pouring cold and tepid water, alternately, over the patient. Upon finding the disease in his own two children, Dr. Curry applied this remedy. The author states, that, "by the time the eldest was ready for his third affusion, the youngest was ready for his first. In thirty-two hours, the first had the affusion fourteen times; eight times cold, twice cool, and four times tepid. Twelve affusions sufficed in the case of the youngest, of which seven were cold. The fever was

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[19] Ibid., IV (December, 1807), 68.

in both completely subdued."[20] The author then gives the history of treatments in the United States for this disease.

> At the time the diesease first appeared in this country, it was the fashion to evacuate the patient so thoroughly, as to leave but little vitality for the disease to consume. At another period, bark and wine were poured down, in all stages of the complaint; to extinguish the fire, they heaped in fuel. No wonder that the writers of that day relate, that, after the patients had been bled, puked, purged, sweated, blistered, and glystered, the unfortunates died.[21]

The usual statement in this section consisted of weather conditions for the month, followed by the diseases and ailments prevalent in the area. Also included in several issues were tables which listed the causes of the disease, as well as the number of persons who had expired. A typical example is that for January-February 1806.[22]

DEATHS IN BOSTON

From Thursday, Jan. 16 to Thursday, Feb. 13, as reported to the Board of Health

	Male	Fem.	Ch.
Accident			1
Consumption	4	5	2
Debility	1		
Dropsy		1	

(continued)

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[20] Ibid., III (December, 1806), 672.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., (February, 1806), 112.

	Male	Fem.	Ch.
*Fever, nervous	6	3	
Old age	3	4	
Peripneumony		1	
Suddenly	2	1	
Unknown	2		13
TOTAL	18	15	16

*Probably incorrect

B. Poetry

"Original"

In the section titled "Original," verses in Latin were proudly submitted as scholarly exercises, and translations of the Latin classics, particularly the Odes of Horace, were equally as popular. Most of the poems which were not of Latin origin were either tributes to young ladies, e. g., "On seeing a White Rose, dry and faded, which the preceding evening had been presented by a young Lady;" eulogies to the dead, e. g., "Lines in Memory of John T. Gilman, Junior, of Exeter, N. H. Who Died at Savannah, on a Tour for his Health;" or assorted light-hearted verse, e. g., "Elegy on Perceiving a Rent in My Old Shoe."

Very few of the poets who submitted verse signed their names. For the most part, initials, such as H******, "A," "S," "T," or "C" were used. Occasionally pseudonyms,

such as "Neddy Nitre," and "Cambria" were employed.

"Selected"

The poems under this heading were, in many instances, by leading poets of England. To mention only a few, "Extracts from Marmion, a Tale of Flodden Field," by Scott, appeared in the July 1808 issue; "Bacis and Philemon," by Swift, and "The Jackdaw--A Fable," by Cowper, in July 1806; "Epistle to a Young Friend," by Burns, in March 1806; and "Extracts from Southery's 'Madoc,'" in January of 1806.

C. The Boston Review

The "Boston Review," comprising perhaps a third of each issue, in November of 1803 was called "Remarks on New Publications," In May 1804 it was entitled, "Remarks on New Publications; or, the Boston Review, for May, 1804." In July 1804 it was "The Boston Review for . . .," and thus it continued throughout the remaining issues of the journal.

As was the practice with respect to assignments of work to be performed, reviews of works recently published were assigned to members and corresponding members. Thus, it is recorded in the Minutes for Thursday, December 19, 1805, that

"Mason's Supplement to Johnson's dictionary was assigned to Mr. Gardiner to be noticed. 'The First Settlers in Virginia,' an historical tale, was assigned to Mr. Tuckerman for review. A French Grammar was assigned to Mr. Emerson to procure a review . . . . 'Fleetwood a novel,' was assigned to Mr. Dana."[23]

The material which was selected for inclusion embraced every conceivable kind of writing. Books, religious and non-sectarian periodicals, published orations and addresses, sermons, assorted papers and publications, and poems comprise, in a general way, the type of works reviewed.

Much of the material contained in the "Boston Review" section will be treated elsewhere in this study, particularly with reference to critical attitudes of the Society. The example of a typical review which follows is to be considered representative.

A particularly fine example of the recognition of a young poet's ability occurred in the "Boston Review" for June 1808. In an entry of the Minutes for June 7, 1808, we find mentioned that "Mr. Shaw read a very long poem on the present

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[23]Howe, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

state of this country by a boy of fourteen, which pleased us all, but on account of some political criminations, it was not accepted."[24] This poem was "The Embargo," by William Cullen Bryant; and although it was not accepted, it was reviewed--in the June issue. The reviewer considered it an extraordinary performance; and speaking for the Society, he said: "We have never met with a boy of that age, who had attained to such command of language and to so much poetical phraseology."[25] Although the reviewer was disappointed, in that the poet "had dared to aim the satirick shaft against the breast of our most excellent President," he nevertheless felt that the following lines were a "good specimen of the author's powers."

> Go scan, philosophist, thy ******charms,
> And sink supinely in her sable arms;
> But quit to abler hands, the helm of state,
> Nor image ruin on they country's fate![26]

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[24]Ibid., 146.

[25]Monthly Anthology, V (June, 1808), 339.

[26]Ibid., 340.

The reviewer, in concluding, commented: "If the young bard has met with no assistance in the composition of this poem, he certainly bids fair, should he continue to cultivate his talent, to gain a respectable station on the Parnassian mount, and to reflect credit on the literature of the country."[27]

"Monthly Catalogue of New Publications"

The "Monthly Catalogue of New Publications in the United States; with New Works, New Editions, and Works in the Press, and works proposed to be Published by Subscription," appeared first in the January 1804 issue, and from then on was an established section.

The editors encountered much difficulty in obtaining notices of books being published throughout the United States, and in one instance had the following to say:

> We cannot too often repeat solicitations to authors, printers, and booksellers, in the different parts of the United States, to send us by the earliest opportunities (post paid) notices of all books which they have lately published, or which they intend to publish. The list of New Publications, & contained in the Anthology is the only list within our knowledge published in the United States, and consequently the only one that can be useful to the publick for purposes of general reference. If authors and publishers will consent to communicate, not only notices, but a copy of all their publications, such

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[27] Ibid.

> use might be made of them as would promote, what all unite in ardently wishing, the general interest of American literature, and the more extensive circulation of books.[28]

Not withstanding the fact that much of American authorship was considered by the Society as inferior to that of the British, the Society nevertheless gave credit to American craftsmanship or endeavor where occasion warranted it. One such example is that of a notice found under "New Editions," for January 1804. The notice is of "The Satires of Decimum Junius Juvenalis," translated into English verse by William Gifford. At the close of the review, the writer stated that "this work is printed on a superfine yellow wove hot pressed royal paper of American manufacture, and is, perhaps, as elegant a specimen of American typography, as has appeared in this country."[29]

"Retrospective Review"

This section, which usually followed the "Boston Review," appeared first in Volume V, January 1808, as "Retrospective Notices of American Literature." In January 1809, Volume VI,

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[28] Ibid., III (March, 1806), 161.

[29] Ibid., I (January, 1804), 140.

it became "Retrospective Review," and continued through November 1810, Volume IX, whereupon it ceased as a department.

There had not yet been a regular survey of this field of letters. J. S. Buckminster, author of the introductory message to this new department, stated that magazines and journals during the last thirty years "have almost invariably praised without discrimination, and thus, as we think, kept our literature in a state of imbecility, or rather tinctured it with a vain and presumptive spirit, not unlike that of a young, and ignorant pedagogue."[30] He solicits the printers and parties interested in the literature of America to furnish the Society with curious information and works. In conclusion, Buckminster says, that, "one of the objects of the Athenaeum, which has been so liberally established in this town, is, gradually to collect all the American works of merit into one grand and accessible repository, and we now formally renew the promise, which we have formerly made, that any books, sent to us for review, whether old or new, shall be faithfully deposited there."[31]

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[30] Ibid., V (January, 1808), 56.

[31] Ibid., 57.

Most of the works reviewed were originally published in the first half of the eighteenth century, or earlier. As representative of those dating back into the early years of the eighteenth century, one example is found in "Poems on several occasions, original and translated," by John Adams, published in 1745. "This little volume," states the reviewer, "affords a specimen of the style, which the ordinary class of poems of a moral or devotional kind exhibited in the days of our fathers."[32] But he finds much to be criticized, especially the exaggerated use of figures and metaphors, and the straining for effect. He admits, however, that it is equal to any New England poetry of that date, "and will not lose the palm by a competition with the writings of John Barnard, or Phyllis Wheatly."[33]

But although Buckminster stated that the Society's intent was not to review works which had appeared since the American Revolution, unless they were "recommended by some peculiar, or hitherto unnoticed excellence," reviews of works published subsequent to the war for Independence are found frequently. Belknap's History of New Hampshire, in three

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[32]Ibid., IX (August, 1810), 129.

[33]Ibid., 132.

volumes, which appeared in 1784, 1791, and 1792, respectively, is reviewed in the February 1810 issue. The Poems of Philip Freneau, published in 1786, was reviewed in the issue for September 1810, and a very sarcastic and biting review of The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, Esq., in which there was "little to censure or to praise," was reviewed in September 1808.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY IN RELATION TO ITS TIMES

A. Education

Because New England showed a distinct interest in education, and believed in its value for all children, one could expect that the group responsible for the Monthly Anthology would be vitally interested in schooling. Members of the group, as well as correspondents, were virtually all recent college graduates--the majority having matriculated at Harvard University, and several having held professorships at that school. When Harvard College assumed the title of university, it was by reason of filling the "Hersey (1782) and Erving (1791) medical professorships." The two members of the Anthology Society who filled these seats were Dr. John Warren, who served as professor of anatomy and surgery, and Benjamin Waterhouse, professor of the theory and practice of physics. But one would have to include Dr. J. T. Kirkland as one of the most illustrous of Harvard alumni. He served Harvard as President from August 1810 to April 1828, and was cited as a major contributor to the remarkable growth of

Harvard. According to Bush, "not only were the number of students and instructors greatly increased, but higher qualifications were demanded from both. . . . Under him there was specially noticeable a marked improvement in the style of English composition. . . . During the 17 years of his administration the college received in donation and bequests nearly $400,000."[1] Other members or correspondents who held prominent positions at Harvard for various periods of time were John Q. Adams, the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory; and Reverend Joseph Buckminister and William Channing, the Dexter lecturship on Biblical literature.

Education of the child in the early years of the nineteenth century was achieved in one of three ways: through public school instruction; privately, by means of a tutor; or within the family circle. And without doubt the advantages and disadvantages of each method were always subject to debate. One writer who commented on this problem believed that "the system of thought and action, the character, manners and acquirements, which the young will possess at their entrance

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[1]George Gary Bush, History of Higher Education in Massachusetts, p. 213.

upon active life, depend in no small degree upon causes, which our wisdom cannot see nor foresee, nor our power control."[2] In his opinion, education is rightfully conducted both in families and schools, but that the "partiality and indulgence" of a family and tutor harm the child. From the public school the child acquires spirit of order derived from sympathy, imitation, honour and shame. He is, consequently, without that "insolence and pride" found in the solitary pupil.[3]

The education of females, especially in New England, was until 1800 thought to be unnecessary. Girls were not allowed to attend public schools until after 1802. In Boston of the 1790's, "girls were allowed to attend the public schools in the summer months only, and not then unless there were seats left vacant by boys. This semi-exclusion lasted until 1822, when Boston became a city."[4]

One author, writing in 1806, held the position that the woman of that day was not interested in domestic pursuits.

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[2]Monthly Anthology, V (January, 1808), p. 33.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Clifton Johnson, Old-time Schools and School-books, p. 138.

Instead, she dabbled in art and music, and dressed according to the latest fashion from abroad. Her place in life was as a companion to man, not his servant; therefore, her mind should be cultivated, and she should be taught not only to read, but to think as well.[5] To accomplish these ends, however, a young lady would have to attend an academy possessing higher academic excellence than the one mentioned in the January 1809 issue of the Monthly Anthology. The writer prefaces an advertisement of an academy for women, which had opened recently in Philadelphia. To realize in full the presumptious and pompous tone of the advertisement, the material in its entirety, rather than pertinent excerpts, need be given. After the author gives a brief history of the academy--from Greece down through Italy, France, and England, he confesses that even

> in our country too, this unfortunate genius has been obliged to lend his name to schools in every village, where plebian urchins are to be instructed how to read, to write, and 'speak pieces!' Eheu! But though 'he has still been falling,' it seems there is yet 'a lower deep,' which we now extract, as it is printed in a Philadelphia paper.

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[5]Monthly Anthology, III (March, 1806), 131.

MRS. ANCORA, respectfully informs the publick, that induced by respectable persons, and by the proffered assistance of eminent masters, she is enabled to form an establishment for the education of YOUNG LADIES; which by the different branches therein to be taught, takes the title of "ACADEMY OF THE UNITED SCIENCES." Impressed with the solemnity of the task, at the same time with an ardent desire of meriting the approbation of parents, she pledges herself that, whatever can conduce to the advancement of this moral institution, shall receive her most active attention.

Madam Ancora's Academy will differ in the following particulars from other female institutions, viz. all her pupils will be day scholars. Terms per annum 40 dollars, and 2 and one half dollars entrance.

Forty pupils only will be admitted.

Mr. Ancora will himself teach drawing and painting in all its varieties.

Teachers of the first respectability will assist Mrs. Ancora.

Mr. John Riley, late principal of Frankford Academy, will teach grammar, history, geography, and the use of the globes.

Mr. Carver, writing and arithmetick.

Madam Ancora, sewing, marking, embroidery, &.

The academy will be opened at No. 53, South Fifth street, the first Monday in January next.

Have you remarked, reader, that Mr. Ancora will HIMSELF teach 'drawing and painting in all their varieties,' and Madam Ancora, 'sewing, marking, embroidery,' the united sciences!!

'Blow winds, and crack your cheeks.'[6]

The low wages which were of necessity paid to teachers, and the absence of capable instructors--those who took a

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[6]Ibid., VI (January, 1809), 22.

definite interest in their tasks and who were proficient in conveying the knowledge they possessed--were two problems which faced communities during this period. The first problem was universal throughout the country, and was as prevalent in the lower levels of education as in the higher. In 1793, and for some years after, the usual sum paid to a teacher in the district school was "ten or twelve dollars a month, though a wealthy district might, in exceptional cases, give twenty dollars to retain a man of culture and experience. Women earned from four to ten dollars."[7]

At the higher level, the salaries of college professors were embarrassingly low. During President Willard's presidency at Harvard (1781-1804), his salary "at no time exceeded $1,400 a year, besides the fees for degrees and an occasional grant as a gift. This had never been more than sufficient, and sometimes even proved inadequate, to meet his necessary expenses. At his death a grant of $500 was made to his family to defray the expenses incurred during his illness."[8]

To many people, teaching "offered no rewards sufficient

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[7]Johnson, op. cit., p. 126.

[8]Bush, op. cit., p. 68.

to attract men of education or capacity, and it sometimes seemed as if a master's chief reason for taking up teaching was inability to earn any thing in any other way."[9]

A deep concern with these problems is to be found in several articles and essays which appeared in the Monthly Anthology. The author of a rather long article, entitled "Education," is disturbed, in that "our lawyers are mere lawyers, our physicians are mere physicians, our divines are mere divines. Every thing smells of the shop, and you will, in a few minutes conversation, infallibly detect a man's profession. We seldom meet here with an accomplished character, a young man of fine genius and very general knowledge, the scholar and the gentleman, united."[10] He feels that this is due to inferior education; and "because teachers receive low wages, teachers are therefore of inferior talents. . . . Every man, capable of instructing well, follows some profession or business, able to support him."[11]

In addition to the problem of finding capable teachers, and the over-all need for higher wages, one author saw, too,

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9 Johnson, op. cit., p. 129.

[10] Monthly Anthology, III (January, 1806), 18.

[11] Ibid.

a danger in the multiplicity of schools. The author's thesis is that the "multiplicity of colleges may tend to the diffusion of knowledge; but it likewise tends to disperse the rays. Collected into one focus, they might kindle some happy luminaries to give light and warmth to an age, but now, dispersed, are lost on too wide a surface."[12] In the second installment he attempts to "point out some plan, which may correct those evils, without depriving any of the benefits, now enjoyed."[13]

The author of this article was aware, too, of the chaos which could arise from an inefficient educational system. "The teachers of our schools are those," he said, "who will serve cheapest, not those, who know their duty best. An instructor at an academy may hope to obtain the wages of a day-labourer, and a tutor at college generally receives as much, as a mechanick can earn by the sweat of his brow. At the same time, our democratick ideas would lead us to divide these paltry stipends among a still larger number of institutions."[14]

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[12]Ibid., IV (March, 1807), 115.

[13]Ibid., (April, 1807), 184.

[14]Ibid., (March, 1807), 115.

This writer's major concern is, however, the presence of the inferior schools--the many who produce inferior graduates. His plan would be to banish classical literature from these schools--"that, by lopping off the decaying branches, the tree might afford sufficient nourishment to the remaining boughs."[15] The function of these schools, then, would be to produce scientific artisans. Surveying the unschooled artisans of that day, the writer comments:

> Our mathematical instrument-makers are men without science. . . . Our surveyors would be less often obliged to guess at the width of a river, if they had studied trigonometry; nor would our mill-wrights make so poor a use of the powers of nature, if they were familiar with mechanicks. Could a few intelligent farmers, dispersed thro' the country, be made acquainted with the nature and properties of different soils, with the principles of vegetation, and a knowledge of the rudiments of mineralogy, they might practically disseminate the improvements, already made in agriculture, and greatly add to our present knowledge by their own experience.[16]

It was this writer's wish that new and useful branches of science, such as veterinary schools, would soon be introduced in the United States--a wish that was fulfilled some years later in the nineteenth century.

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[15] Ibid., (April, 1807), 184.

[16] Ibid., 185.

B. National Politics and Foreign Affairs

The editors of the Monthly Anthology did not think it proper to include articles which were politically controversial. Consequently, despite the sizeable number of volumes which were published, very little political material is to be found. Yet although a regular monthly political department was not included, two appendices, to volumes III and IV for the years 1806 and 1807, respectively, and carrying the title, "The Political Cabinet," did appear and did gain favor with the public. In the words of the editor, its purpose was

> In order to give a more durable value to our work than it has yet possessed, we propose to appropriate the eight pages, which in consequence of increased patronage we are enabled to add, to the publication of interesting American state papers, and generally of authenticated documents; having for their objects the history, statisticks, & of our country, to be published as an appendix to the Anthology, paged by itself, so that, if subscribers please, it may be bound as a separate volume.[17]

The material in volume III, 1806, was contained under the heading, MESSAGES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Jefferson, in one message, told of the differences America was having with Spain, the citizens of Orleans and Mississippi

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[17]Monthly Anthology, III Appendix A (December, 1806), 1.

"being seized and their property plundered in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government."[18] Another example is documents and papers which are of "complaints by the government of France, against the commerce carried on by the citizens of the United States to the French island of St. Domingo."[19]

Papers and messages making up the "Political Cabinet" for 1807 are, in part, "extracts of letters and documents pertaining to the Burr conspiracy, and a message from the President of the United States communicating information of the effect of gunboats in the protection and defense of harbours."[20]

But in its overall makeup, the journal was primarily a literary and scholarly endeavor, and petty bickering over party politics was considered beneath their standards. This did not necessarily mean, however, that the contributors were oblivious or indifferent to the political ferment going on about them, or that they individually or collectively held

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[18] Ibid., 2.

[19] Ibid., 3.

[20] Ibid., IV, Appendix (December, 1807), 1.

little or no political convictions. On the contrary, if the members had been asked to stand and be counted, to a man they would have been Federalists. And although the policy of the magazine was to exclude mention of party politics, certain partisan remarks managed to find their way into at least a few issues.

Fisher Ames, one of the more prominent hard-core Federalists of that era--a member of the Essex Junto, a group who favored strict adherence to strong central government--had occasion to review a book entitled, War in Disguise; or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags. The major theme of the book, which was, incidentally, written by an Englishman, was that Great Britain can lose the sovereignty of the seas, and "that by the encroachments and frauds of the neutral flags France has found a nursery and a refuge for her navy, and that of her Dutch and Spanish allies, as well as secret conduits for those resources, by which she has nourished and augmented it."[21]

It was obvious to Ames that nations must appeal to reason if they do not care to resort to force, and that argument is a consequence of negotiation. In direct criticism

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[21]Ibid., III (January, 1806), 47.

of Jefferson, Ames said:

> Though our first magistrate assures us, that reason is the umpire between just nations, yet with his unfortunate and very unphilosophical antipathy against the British nation and government, and after all the false and silly things his adherents have said against the British treaty, negociations is understood to be the last expedient, to which our administration will think of resorting. It is palpably clear to common sense, that it should have been the first. For had an attempt been made to negociate when the British treaty was near expiring; when the British cabinet wished to make friends; and was discouraged to see itself without any; there is no doubt the dispute might have been prevented. At any rate it would have been anticipated; and if our merchants had anticipated it, they would have saved some millions of dollars, which have since been captured and condemned. Thus it is, that the people have to pay for the national partialities and aversions of their rulers.[22]

Yet on another occasion, a contributor was opposed to bringing politics down to the level of the lower classes. In calling it "colloquial politics," he meant "the slang of citizens about the evolution of the world, and the manoeuvres of their own government and country."[23] All this, he feels, has "made with us thousands of blockheads, and crammed the heads of men of good sense with more stuff, than ever a quack packed into the stomach of a sick man," and that in many instances, laborers "ought to be brightening their plow-shares,

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., IV (October, 1807), 542.

instead of dog-earing their spelling book."[24]

The previous material, political in content, was spasmodic in appearance. A more realistic and reliable appraisal of the political views held by the men who wrote for the Monthly Anthology are to be found in the members' personal letters. And although the years in which the following correspondence took place preceded the period during which the magazine was published, the attitudes remained unchanged.

In the last years of the 1790's the political scene was Federalist. Adams was President, and at this time the three major issues which were of immediate concern to United States citizens were: (1) U. S. relations with France, (2) the possibility of England at war with France, and (3) the Alien and Sedition laws.

Writing to A. M. Walter in July, 1797, William Shaw is sure that the "French will be disappointed in perceiving that the passiveness of Americans is now waking from its lethargy. Washington's appearance at the head of our armies must 'electrify every bosom' in his country's cause."[25] The

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Felt, op. cit., p. 26.

following month Walter writes of the possibility of France invading England, and declares passionately: "There is a God in heaven who will never suffer the garden of the Hesperides to become an extensive sand waste. If proud France wishes to 'make cowards of us all,' we will oppose Adams to Talleyrand and Washington to Bonaparte."[26]

The Alien and Sedition bills of 1799 were instigated and put into effect by the Federalists. Because the Federalists feared the foreign element (they were almost always Republicans), they increased the period of residence for naturalization from five to fourteen years. During this time the President could deport any person he considered "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." The Sedition bill provided for "fines and imprisonment as penalties for seditious utterances or writings against the President or Congress."[27] In a letter to William Channing in Richmond, on December 31, 1798, Shaw speaks of the sedition and alien bills and is "convinced of their propriety and necessity." "Indeed," he says, "I cannot conceive of a government's

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[26]Ibid., p. 28.

[27]Wilfred Binkley, American Political Parties, Their Natural History, p. 80.

existing long without laws to prevent the licentiousness of the press."[28] The following month the sedition act is renewed, and Shaw, now even more positive in his convictions, says: "I wish the law, with some alterations, to be permanent. To establish a government, founded on public opinion, and then allow this opinion to be misled and corrupted by the lowest miscreants of society, who have talents to invent falsehood, is not my system. No. Government should be respected, character should not be wrongly attacked with impunity."[29]

The election of 1800 was a Republican victory, and the Federalists, and we may assume Shaw in particular, were bitterly disappointed. Shaw, whose aunt was the wife of President Adams, had been secretary to the President, and he had to seek other employment. In a letter to his aunt, Shaw presented not only his own views toward Jefferson, but the dilemma which apparently faced many Federalists: "For the legislators of our country to be obliged to vote either for Jefferson or Burr, was not unlike a man in the chamber of a house on fire; if he ran down stairs he would probably

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[28]Felt, op. cit., p. 37.

[29]Ibid., p. 131.

be burnt, if he jumped from the window he would be in danger of breaking his limbs."[30]

Even the leading poets did not escape the searching eye of this Federalist group. A correspondent informed Shaw that Barlow was "deep in the mysteries of modern philosophy." Elaborating further, he said: "Poets, in general, do not succeed as politicians. They are worshipers of ideal images, dealers in fiction, builders of air castles, and master workmen only in the edifices of Parnassus's summit. These things belong not to the science of government."[31]

In general, however, the Monthly Anthology maintained a high level of integrity in deciding that which should and should not be published. At one meeting of the Society,

> Mr. Shaw offerred a communication, purporting to be a comparison of Lycurgus and Mr. Jefferson, which was not read one third through, before it was rejected, as inconsistent with the publication. Mr. McKean looking over it afterwards, saw some reflections in it, which need not that sentence to be passed on them on account of their political tendency. It was therefore begun again by the Secty who read half of it, when the first determination was acquiesced in.[32]

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[30] Ibid., p. 141.

[31] Ibid., p. 67.

[32] Minutes, p. 152.

In direct contrast to this attitude was that of a sister magazine in Philadelphia--the Port Folio. Although the publication showed much literary merit, it did contain, especially with Joseph Dennie as pilot, much material of muckraking variety. Therefore, in noting the few instances in which politics were mentioned or, more important, the times when bitterness showed through, the Anthologists were to be commended in that they did not resort to more vicious or slanderous means of expressing their views--it all being evidence, certainly, that the journal was truly conducted by "A Society of Gentlemen."

C. Science

The field of science as represented by articles published in the Monthly Anthology embraced medicine, natural science, and agriculture.

1. Medicine

Medical information in the Monthly Anthology consisted principally of the "Statement of Diseases" section which appeared as the last item in each issue. There were, however, two series of articles written by physicians who were members of the Society. One of these was "The Family Physician," by

Dr. J. Jackson; and the other, a correspondence between Dr. J. C. Warren and a Dr. Windship.

The "Family Physician" was a series which terminated after only three installments. It is quite possible that the burden of Dr. Jackson's profession prevented him from being more productive in the literary sense. In the first installment, Dr. Jackson discussed the problems of the physician in administering to the sick. In general, it was "whether the operation of his medicines is favourable, or the contrary; whether he shall stop or go on; whether the subsiding of this or that symptom marks a real amendment, or is the consequence only of a momentary alleviation; whether some new complaints arise from the physick on the disease."[33] He especially warned the layman of prescribing for a loved one; for "hardly can a medical man judge correctly in the case of a near friend or relative; still less must one not conversant with the science of medicine be capable of acquiring knowledge on this subject at the very instant in which it is to be exercised; and that too on an object, which engrosses his warmest affections."[34]

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[33] Monthly Anthology, II (July, 1805), 342.

[34] Ibid., 342-43.

In the second installment, the doctor apologized for his absence during the past three months. It had been a season of diseases which were customary at that time, and he used the events of this period as a foundation for this and the next installment. In his opinion, two classes of people were often in need of charitable assistance: the first were those who are embarrassed because the cost is beyond their means, and they delay in seeking relief; the second were domestic servants who became ill, and their employers found the burden of caring for them excessive. Jackson proposed the erection of an infirmary or hospital where the unfortunates "should be supplied with every thing necessary to their comfort, and be attended by proper physicians, surgeons, and nurses."[35]

In the remaining article Jackson pursued his argument in favor of a dispensary. To a suggestion that the almshouse should prove of use to the sick, his answer was that "victims of intemperance, the idle, and the profligate generally inhabit such a dwelling. The sick need a place where they may

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[35]Ibid., (December, 1805), 624.

receive constant and careful attention--a temporary arrangement."[36] In closing, he stated that sufficient wealth was present for such an undertaking, and he hoped, sufficient charity. The remaining item of necessity was for some man of influence, zealous in the cause, to give it his patronage."

The other series of communications was that between Dr. J. C. Warren, writing under the pseudonym of "Philo-Lavoisier," and Dr. Windship, under that of "Medicus." The occasion for this exchange of medical views was the review of a discourse delivered by Dr. John C. Howard before the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June 12, 1804. Warren took issue with many of Howard's medical opinions--one being that animal heat is distinct from the respiratory process. Howard believed that "evaporation from the lungs was the use of the respiratory function." This, with other views, set the stage for a controversy which lasted, in print, approximately five months.

Dr. Windship supported Dr. Howard's views. The letters, addressed to one another, eventually contained nothing

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[36] Ibid., (December, 1805), 624.

but minute arguments and disagreements. As is evidenced by the following, it did not prove exciting or interesting reading:

> NOT a few of our readers will rejoice when they are informed that the Medical communication of this month closes the long protracted controversy. In the Anthology for March we informed the writers that after the publication of the pieces then on file, the last of which we have now published; the dispute must cease, and from the little interest it has excited, we feel no disposition to recede from our determination. Medicus will therefore pardon our unwillingness to admit his reply. The conducting of such a miscellany are [sic] compelled to remember the question of the friend of Persius, "Quis leget hoec?"[37]

In November of 1804, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, who was a professor of the theory and practise of physic at Harvard University, delivered a public lecture at the close of a medical course. It was given to all the students, and it was a warning to young persons concerning their health. When it was put into book form, it became Waterhouse's most popular book; "five editions were published in America, one in London, one in Geneva (in French) and one in Vienna (in German)."[38] When the book was reviewed in the Journal, Dr.

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[37] Ibid., (June, 1805), 332.

[38] DAB, XIX, 531.

Jackson, the reviewer, felt that Waterhouse's "doctrine was more recommended by its simplicity, than by its perfect accordance with observation."[39] And he further took issue with the author in regard to the ill effects of smoking. He agreed that the liberal use of tobacco should be condemned, but he countered, in saying, that "further evidence must be offered to prove us that smoking causes consumptions; or that the recent deaths in our university are fairly to be charged to this noxious plant. Reasons powerful and sufficient are opposed to the use of tobacco, without straining the evidence against it; and our duty obliges us to express our dissent to an opinion which we do not believe to be correct."[40]

2. Natural Science

Although some writers feel that scientific progress during the period from the 1780's to the 1830's was relatively non-existent, there was, in America, a fervent interest in natural science.[41] Most of the interest was by novices--men who were not actively engaged in scientific research, but who were confident "that any problem could be solved with a little

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[40] Ibid., 157-58.

[41] Krout and Fox, op. cit., p. 313.

information and common sense."[42] Jefferson, for example, was extremely interested in fossils. The fact that he carried 300-odd bones of a pre-historic monster to Philadelphia when he became Vice President, bones which he had acquired from Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, was publicized and criticized as well.

From a professional viewpoint, the naturalist was still in the province of the physician; and in academic life, most courses in natural science were offered in the medical school. But a change was slowly taking place. In 1802, President Dwight of Yale appointed Professor Benjamin Silliman to a professorship of chemistry and natural history. And Harvard, in 1805, benefited from a sum exceeding thirty thousand dollars, which was for the establishment of a Professorship of Natural History.

a. Botany. Benjamin Waterhouse, who since 1785 had given lectures annually on natural history at Harvard, incorporated much of this material in "The Botanist," a series which ran from July 1804 through October 1805. In giving the plan for

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[42] Ibid., 314.

this series, Waterhouse said: "We shall give our doctrine a dress partaking more of the popular than of the scientific garb; so much at least of the former as not to disguise from the view of the common observer, this beautiful handmaid of Medicine, and yet not divested so much entirely of the latter as to offend the eye of the most rigid disciple of the Linnaean school."[43] Several of the installments are of the "anatomy of a seed and its gradual development into a perfect plant," and principles of change or mutation in plants. And also included in the series are a biographical sketch of Linnaeus, the physician and naturalist; a history of botany, "from the earliest ages until the science came finished from the hands of that great master," and several sketches of botanical gardens throughout the world.

Botany is also the subject matter for an account of the French naturalist Andrew Micheaux, and his excursions throughout much of the United States in the year 1785 and following. This account was published in the August, October, and November, 1810, issues of the journal.

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[43]Monthly Anthology, I (July, 1804), 391.

b. Chemistry. Of the natural sciences mentioned in the Monthly Anthology, chemistry received the least attention. John Gorham, M. D., who succeeded Aaron Dexter as Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy at Harvard, gave public lectures on chemistry during the winter of 1808, and a very complimentary review of these some forty-odd lectures appeared in the Monthly Anthology. A review of a book on chemistry, by a woman, was given by Dr. Gorham. The author is British, and she states that in writing this work, "she felt encouraged by the establishment of those public institutions, open to both sexes, for the dessemination [sic] of philosophical knowledge, which clearly prove that the general opinion no longer excludes women from an acquaintance with the elements of science."[44] Gorham has only words of praise for her work. With enthusiasm he says that "the style is simple and colloquial; the nature of the action resulting from the exertion of complex chymical affinity is rendered perfectly intelligible by comparisons drawn from familiar examples."[45]

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[44] Ibid., VI (May, 1809), 339.

[45] Ibid., 339-40.

c. Mineralogy. Articles on mineralogy, a science which was rapidly becoming popular in the United States, appeared only occasionally in the journal. An article on a Mr. Godon's lectures, which were commenced in Boston during December 1807, will serve as an example. The subject of this article, known for his attainments in his native France, intended to settle in the United States. In a lecture reproduced, he presents first the "characters of minerals, of their chemical composition, and of their properties and uses," then rocks, and the method of studying minerals in nature. Godon felt that the United States should be considering the importance of manufacture, and he believed, too, that America especially presented a virgin soil in this particular branch of natural history.[46] Several articles on mineralogy were reprinted from the Medical Repository; and one, which appeared in March 1808, tells of a discovery of mineral substances in what is now New Jersey. The importance of these substances to the artist is particularly stressed.

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[46]Ibid., IV (December, 1807), 659.

3. Agriculture

Practical agriculture, with the new discoveries which were being made in techniques and methods, all proved to be of interest to the Anthology group. But with the exception of one or two articles on the care of peach trees, the articles were generally about the agricultural societies which only recently had been founded. These societies received much criticism from the Monthly Anthology, and the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, because of its presentation of Georgick papers, was especially singled out. Not only did Tudor, the reviewer, dislike the classical allusion, i. e., Georgick, which he thought affected, but his dislike extended to the premiums the society used. It was the policy of the agricultural societies to offer premiums for discoveries in agriculture. As an example, the following is an appeal published in the papers of the Massachusetts Society for Promotion of Agriculture for the year 1804:

> TO the person who shall discover an effectual and cheap method of destroying the Canker-worm, and give evidence thereof to the satisfaction of the trustees, on or before the 1st day of October, 1805, a premium of one hundred dollars, or the Society's gold medal.[47]

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[47] Papers on Agriculture Consisting of Communications Made to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, p. 5.

Tudor said that the medal, "a thin piece of gold in an oval form, with a paltry engraving on its surface . . . was contemptible as a work of art, perishable as a memorial, and useless in its form."[48] He thought the papers to be of more interest to Europeans than New Englanders. A review with similar critical observations appeared in regard to the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture. This reviewer felt that "the mere practical farmer knows as little of the principles of vegetation as the tailor does of the human system."[49] One of the more interesting communications was upon the expenses and profits of a dairy, and another was on the correct method of constructing a compost pit.

It was also during this period that a controversy developed with respect to the relative merits of the imported versus the domestic breed of sheep. The Monthly Anthology, under "Intelligence and Miscellaneous Articles for January 1809," reproduced a report to the General Assembly of the state of Connecticut, with respect to the "Merino breed of sheep, imported by the hon. David Humphreys, late minister

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[48]Monthly Anthology, VII (July, 1809), 57.

[49]Ibid., VI (February, 1809), 109.

plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Madrid."[50] Although the report presented the advantages to be realized from crossing the Merino breed with domestic breeds, it was, more particularly, one which heaped praise and adulation upon Col. Humphrey.

D. Religion

Of the original fourteen members of the Monthly Anthology Society, six were clergymen: William Emerson, Samuel Cooper Thacher, J. S. Buckminster, Joseph Tuckerman, Thomas Gray were Unitarian Congregational; and John Sylvester John Gardiner was an Episcopalian. Other ministers, who were either elected subsequently or were corresponding members, such as John Kirkland, Joseph McKean, and John Pierce, were also Unitarian Congregational. Although no attempt has been made to determine the religious preference of those members who were of other professions, it is apparent that the majority held views which we, today, attribute to the Unitarian church. And quite naturally the Monthly Anthology, as a publication, was more liberal than orthodox in presenting its views. Adams,

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[50] Ibid., VI (January, 1809), 67.

for example, wrote that the unpopularity of the magazine was great, "because its aggressiveness took the form of assaults on Calvinism, which earned the ill-will of the Congregational clergy."[51]

There were two major incidents which served to set the liberal faction of the Cambridge-Boston community apart from the orthodox, and they received full coverage in the Anthology. In 1803 David Tappan, who occupied the Hollis Chair of Divinity at Harvard College, died just a few weeks before commencement. The Harvard corporation moved very cautiously in finding a successor. The reason for the delay was the interpretation of Article XI of "Rules, Orders, and Statutes" specified by Thomas Hollis, who established the chair in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The article stated that the "person, chosen from time to time to be a professor, be a man of solid learning in divinity, of sound or orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation."[52] The orthodox believed in a strict interpretation of the article, and they

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[51]Adams, op. cit., III, 203.

[52]Monthly Anthology, II (March, 1805), 152.

proposed Eliphalet Pearson, a Calvinist, and the first principal of Phillips Academy, as the most appropriate candidate for the position. The liberal faction, however, believed that Hollis did not intend that the person occupying the chair be anything other than a "believer"--one who believed in the Bible and the Scriptures. Their candidate was Henry Ware, from Hingham, Massachusetts. The outcome of the election saw the latter chosen by a small margin. Not being one to let the situation rest, Jedidiah Morse, the geographer, and one who bitterly opposed Ware's appointment, wrote, "The true reasons on which the election of a Hollis professor of divinity in Harvard college was opposed at the board of overseers." A review of this work appeared in the March 1805 issue of the Anthology. Morse was positive that Hollis had meant to exclude Arminians, Arians, or Socinians, as their principles were "all essentially different from his own." But William Wells, the reviewer, felt that Hollis knew "that all sects of Christians consider themselves as sound, or synonimously, as orthodox; and therefore left the corporation and overseers to elect any person, whom they should conscientiously consider as 'sound or orthodox.'"[53]

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[53]Ibid., (March, 1805), 154.

Morse replied to this criticism in an article for the Journal, and Wells, in turn, answered him. But no new arguments were presented.

The second controversy, and also one in which Harvard College was again involved, was the culmination of all the grievances held by the orthodox--especially those persons connected with Harvard College. At this time Harvard was being criticized by some for its liberality in thought and action. Thus, to provide a means for assuring young college men a place in which they could receive the proper training in Christian beliefs, they, with a group who had established Phillips Academy, found a theological seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. The members of the Anthology thought the creeds initiated by the directors of the Andover venture highly objectionable. The first opportunity for the Anthology to exercise its critical judgment in this matter was upon the publication of The Constitution and Associate Statutes of the Theological Seminary in Andover; with a Sketch of its Rise and Progress. This work was reviewed by S. C. Thacher in the November 1808 issue of the Anthology, and he put major emphasis on the creed which formed the bond of union

between the two bodies of men--those of Phillips Academy, and the directors of the Andover project. The creed, said its sponsors, "'shall be repeated by every Professor on the foundation of the expiration of every successive period of five years, and no man shall be continued a professor on said foundation, who shall not continue to approve himself a man of sound and orthodox principles in divinity, agreeably to the aforesaid creed.'"[54] In all, Thacher listed five objections. In abbreviated form they were: (1) the nature of a creed implies that the sense of the words of Jesus need amplification; (2) that creeds "are directed against the honest and conscientious, and operate as a temptation and premium to dishonesty;" (3) that the "coincidence of opinion, which it is the design of these instruments to produce . . . can never take place;" (4) that a human being can not possess the right of settling the terms of salvation; and (5) that this particular creed was, to the Anthologists, "the first instance on record of a creed's being originally formed with a designed ambiguity of meaning,

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[54]Ibid., V (November, 1808), 609.

with the express intention of permitting men of different opinions to sign it."[55] Thacher also found the repetition of signatures distasteful, and said that "these unhappy men are never out of chains." The editors of the Panoplist attacked Thacher because of this review; he answered with an article entitled "DEFENSE Of the REVIEW of the Constitution and Associate Statutes of the Theological Institution of Andover." In content it was merely a restatement of facts already given.

Although articles which furthered the orthodox or liberal movement were wanting, reviews of published sermons were found to serve the same purpose. A sermon which was preached by Edward D. Griffin, "Bartlet Professor of pulpit Eloquence in the Divinity College at Andover," received a scathing review at the hands of Buckminster. He thought that Griffin confused the issue, in that there were three persons in the unity of the Godhead, and that perhaps four or five were objects of worship. Buckminster, in explicating Griffin's statements with respect to the Trinity, said:

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[55] Ibid., 611-613.

> We have, 1st. the three original persons of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, who altogether make but one God; we have, next, an agent or person called Christ, who is neither of the former persons, but a being in whom two natures make but one person, as before three persons made but one nature; and after all these compositions, and decompositions, we have, lastly (it is to be hoped) Him who, though supposed to unite all these diversities, is almost forgotten in the scheme, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom Solomon directed his sublime invocation, when he said in the opening of his prayer, O Lord God of Israel, THERE IS NO GOD LIKE THEE in the Heaven nor in the Earth.[56]

Yet a sermon entitled "The Simplicity that is in Christ, and the danger of its being corrupted," given at an annual convention of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts, received much praise. The author believed that the simplicity of the gospel appeared "in the singleness or unity of the object of our worship, in the faith required of men; in the moral precepts of Christianity; in its positive institutions; and in the motives by which the duties of repentance and a holy life are recommended and enforced."[57] It was the author's intent to recall everyone "from all human tests of orthodoxy to the standard of faith which the gospel proposes." Consequently, the reviewer felt that he should be commended

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[56]Ibid., VIII (February, 1810), 130-131.

[57]Ibid., IX (October, 1810), 266.

"for the distinguished ability, fortitude and moderation, with which he . . . executed his task."[58]

The preacher as well as his sermon was often the target for attack by reviewers of the Anthology. On one occasion, J. S. J. Gardiner said that it was only natural to assume "that one would become adept in any art, which they [sic] had long practised; and that what they are under the necessity of doing often; they would at length learn to do well. But this certainly is not the case with the divines of New-England, where, though more sermons are published than in any other part of the world, yet there are few that bear the stamp of sterling merit."[59]

A review of two sermons delivered in a Presbyterian church in Albany, New York, by William Emerson, received no commendation. The author's presentation was criticized by Emerson, who said:

> If in his introduction he had not informed us what he was going to do, and, at the conclusion, what he had been doing, we should with difficulty have guessed at his design. . . . There is hardly a commentator, whom he does not quote; a monarch, whose character he does not delineate; an infidel, whom he does not chastise;

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[58]Ibid., 267.

[59]Ibid., V (June, 1808), 335.

> a good institution, which he does not commend; or a bad one, which he does not condemn.[60]

The advisability of allowing clergy the occasional use of printed discourses was thought an important enough topic to warrant several installments in the Anthology. The argument set forth was, in essense, that a clergyman should sample from the great divines when preparing his sermon. Andrews Norton, the author of one installment, felt that such discourses would be "especially useful to the lazy and indolent clergy." If he be of that nature, said Norton, then "his society suffer, for they hear from him dull and careless discourses of his own; but if the plan now proposed were adopted, his society might be gainers from his writing little, for they would then hear from him discourses of others, probably much better than what any exertions of his own could produce."[61] Yet Gardiner, for one, knew of no printed sermons which were "perfect models of pulpit eloquence." In presenting his definition of a proper sermon, he felt that they should be "impressive and instructive; impressive to gain attention, instructive to reward it. They should contain

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[60] Ibid., VI (June, 1809), 414.

[61] Ibid., V, 4.

matter enough to satisfy the judicious, and yet be sufficiently interesting to engage and edify the multitude."[62]

And although the subject of preaching was one on which people widely differed, the propriety of action in the pulpit commanded even more attention. "If a pulpit orator makes use of much gesculation," said one author, "he ought to commit his sermon to memory; for nothing can be more unnatural than for his hands to be flying about in all directions, whilst his eyes are fixed upon his notes. But then acting is not preaching, and what is sufficiently becoming on the stage would degrade the somber dignity of the pulpit."[63]

At least one reviewer came forward to support a published series of lectures which in his opinion should be read by "unprejudiced Christians of all denominations." He felt that different modes of faith and worship should be accepted and that the form of worship should not be considered too important. In stating his position, the reviewer said:

> We abhor bigotry, whether in an episcopalian, or a dissenter, in a trinitarian or an unitarian. If revelation were clear on these subjects, there could

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[62] Ibid., VII, 38.

[63] Ibid., 39.

> be no dispute. But since they are involved in obscurity, let every one adopt that system, which he thinks on the whole most eligible, nor presume to censure the creed of others, who may be as sincerely pious, and as learned as himself. The man who first attacks the mode of worship adopted by another, is in fact the bigot, and will be avoided by all prudent men.[64]

These were the words of J. S. J. Gardiner, an Episcopalian, reviewing a work entitled "Lectures on the Catechism, on Confirmation, and the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church." Such an unprejudiced attitude was not, however, held by all members of the Society. The opposite feeling is quite noticeable when one reads the series of letters of John Lowell, written in 1804, while he was abroad, and published later in the Anthology. On one occasion, several days before Christmas of 1804, he attended a service at St. Peters, in Rome. When prayers were said at the statue of St. Peter, the foot was wiped before a cardinal approached, because it had been soiled "by the constant embraces of the vulgar." And, continued Lowell, "when the vulgar, or even laymen of rank, say their prayers, they fall down on the bare marble floor; not so the lofty cardinal; he is preceded by a gentleman usher, who

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[64] Ibid., V (June, 1808), 340.

drops a soft silk purple velvet cushion, upon which his sacred knees softly recline."[65]

The rich robes, coaches ornamented with gold, and rich "trappings" were especially criticized by Lowell. The severest remarks he uttered were in relation to the sale of indulgences, and the veneration shown by Catholics toward religious relics. He remarked that inscriptions in which the sale of indulgences were publicly advertised were to be found in the great cities of Italy, and that they daily granted "permission, either general or more limited, to commit offences." The religious relics he saw consisted of "a real nail of the cross, shut up in the cathedral of Milan; "the very fire-place at which the virgin used to sit;" and "the church of the holy handkerchief at Turins . . . erected to enclose the holy handkerchief, with which our Saviour is fabled to have wiped his face, as he was bearing the cross to the place of execution."[66] In speaking of all the relics supposedly once belonging to Jesus, Joseph and Mary, Lowell exclaims dubiously:

> When we recollect the persecution and poverty of Joseph and Mary, their flight into Egypt, to avoid the vengenance of Herod, and the itinerant life which our

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[65] Ibid., (October, 1808), 541.

[66] Ibid., IV (February, 1807), 72.

> Saviour was obliged to lead, the improbability of their being able to preserve these relicks, even during his life, and the total unimportance of them if preserved, one would suppose, would be sufficient to convince even the most ignorant and illiterate of the absurdity of such tales.[67]

All of this resulted in a rejoinder from a prominent Catholic reader of Boston. In a letter entitled "To the American Traveller, on His Second Letter . . .," the author denied that indulgences were sold, and that they were permissions to commit offenses. He defined indulgence as "a dispensation from the whole or part of the penance, which is or ought to be prescribed according to the canons of the church to those, who have confessed their sins. The grant of an indulgence is of no avail, except to those who sincerely repent, are firmly resolved to reform, have made an humble confession of their guilt, are reconciled to their enemies, have restored ill-gotten property, & &."[68] And in answer to the accusation that his sect was guilty of persecution, he said, in closing: "Your venerable forefathers, sir, fled . . . not from a popish, but from a protestant persecution. They landed here, and were at full liberty to shew, what was the spirit of their

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[67] Ibid., 75.

[68] Ibid., (April, 1807), 187.

sect. Was it toleration? Many other virtues they possessed, no doubt; but to this they were utter strangers."[69] Not content to let the incident rest, the editors of the Anthology printed a few lines in support of Lowell's views. Although the editors argued that Lowell could bring to bear certain authorities who would substantiate charges of persecution and intolerance "which prevailed in the Roman catholick church in its days of prosperity," they did not persist in prolonging the controversal exchange. Rather, they admitted authorization from Lowell to say that

> he has the highest respect for the learned, pious, and respectable gentlemen, at the head of that church in Boston; that he is convinced of the utility and importance of their labours, and that he is sorry that any free and general remarks, applicable to certain abuses in the church of Rome, should be thought by them to bear, in the smallest degree, upon the opinions and principles of men, whom he wishes to believe incapable of countenancing all the errours and absurdities, which have crept into the practice of the catholicks in some countries.[70]

Because several members of the Anthology Club were ministers, and especially because many members of the Society were closely affiliated with Harvard College at the time when religious tenets were being questioned and evaluated, it is

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[69] Ibid., 189.

[70] Ibid., 224.

surprising to find that religious writings were practically negligible. One attempt was made to establish a series entitled "The Theologist," but this endeavor saw only three installments before it terminated. And where sermons were reviewed, the emphasis was generally placed on composition and grammar, as well as style, rather than on the religious content.

Personal documents revealed that members, as individuals, were strongly prejudiced in their beliefs. Walter, writing to Shaw of the re-establishment of the Jesuits, said: "I don't want the existence of this Society. It is, in principle, as bad as the Illuminati. You know that Russell, in his Modern Europe, says, it was evident from their books and papers, that they intended the destruction of all (Protestant) institutions."[71]

Yet, despite all this apparent preoccupation with religion, the Society sublimated this interest to the more secular forms of writings. And it is commendable that the Society maintained its dedication to polite literature and

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[71] Memorials, p. 76.

criticism, rather than using the journal as a means for furthering a religious cause.

E. The Fine Arts

In this study, the Fine Arts will include art, sculpture, the theater, and music. Poetry and literature, which usually have a prominent place in a study of the Fine Arts, are treated in a separate chapter.

Music, with the exception of that associated with churches, received little attention from the Anthologists. Lowell was the only writer who mentioned music to any extent. While in Milan he attended an opera, and in a letter to a friend, he wrote: "We went to the opera twice; but not being virtuosos, after yawning and gaping for an hour or two, we retired, determined for the future to trust the judgment of the more enlightened as to the excellence of Italian musick."[72]

1. Art and Sculpture

The very slow progress of the Fine Arts in America

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[72] Ibid., I (December, 1803), 51.

was recorded by a Britisher in the December, 1803 issue; however, this apparent lag came as no surprise to the writer. "It cannot be expected," he said, "that the same correct taste should prevail here, as in the elder societies of the world, where popular refinement is the result of luxury, and luxury is the offspring of extreme wealth and old habits."[73] He praised West, Stuart, Copeley [sic] and Trumbull, "all painters of high and deserved fame," but Stuart particularly stood high in his regard. Therefore, it is to be lamented, "that a greater promptitude to the promotion of the Fine Arts has not been shown by his countrymen, in a due encouragement of so great a man in this his native land."[74]

Robert Field, a correspondent who was elected to the Society in June of 1806, and who was a painter of miniatures, felt that cultivation of taste was greatly needed, despite the fact that riches were being brought home from foreign parts and that many cities were flourishing because of this great wealth. There are many, he said, "who have indulged themselves in fancying, that the peoples of this country

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[73] Ibid., I (December, 1803), 51.

[74] Ibid., 52.

have a natural genius for this art."[75]

This ignorance of taste in the Arts could be attributed to the absence of native-born artists working in their own domestic element. Although there were those who argued that America was a land of "self-taught geniuses," Field said that

> America gave birth to West, Stewart, Copely [sic] and Trumbull, but these were not self-taught, the shoots of skill and dexterity were engrafted on them in another country, where their natural talents were nourished and carefully raised to maturity: had they continued here, they never would have got beyond the rudiment of their profession, and must have been content with that portion of short-lived praise, which usually falls to the lot of a self-taught genius."[76]

Instances of criticism and praise of the masters were to be found on several occasions. Washington Allston, who was a very capable artist in his own right, and a corresponding member of the Society, was in Paris and Rome during portions of 1803 and 1804. In a letter to a friend, Allston, after presenting his views on his favorite artist, Michelangelo, avowed that he was overcome by a female head by Leonardo da Vinci. "Were it alive," said he, "it would set all the men crazy; I never saw any thing so fascinating;

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[75] Ibid., III (June, 1806), 301.

[76] Ibid.

and it smiles so bewitchingly, that had I been alone I should certainly have kissed it."[77]

Michelangelo is viewed somewhat differently by Lowell. In one of his letters from Italy, he mentioned that to him, Michelangelo excels more as an architect than as a painter, and he especially finds his "harshness and coarseness extremely disagreeable . . in the character of his personages. . . . He makes every man an Hercules, and every woman an Amazon." But Lowell does accept Michelangelo in sculpture, "for unless the artist is forming an Adonis or a Venus, we have no objection to see the muscles well pronounced in a statue, and to have the form vigorous and masculine."[78]

On one occasion, a Monthly Anthology correspondent revealed a very prudish attitude or aversion toward "nakedness" in Art. Captain Bradford, author of "Some Account of Venice, and the Splendid Entrance of Buonaparte into That City, in December, 1807," had assembled with others to watch Napoleon enter Venice, and he comments on the furnishings of the house to which he has been invited to watch the festivities. The

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[77]Ibid., I (July, 1804), 402.

[78]Ibid., IV (January, 1807), 32.

third story, where he is waiting, is profusely hung with prints and pictures--several by the Americans, West and Copley. In addition to some of the more modern and familiar pieces, Bradford views a great number of others,

> in the choice of which no respect has been paid to decency of subject or situation. Nature, life, and expression have been preferred without regard to modesty; and though I was aware that custom allows these things in this country, yet I was astonished to see the gentleman lead ladies to view and admire the expression, as they called it, in a picture, which I should have thought too indecent to be seen by any body.[79]

Sculpture and sculptors went virtually unnoticed by the writers for the Monthly Anthology. As was the case with opera and art, sculpture to be viewed was principally by way of European sources. The only example of an entry is that of Captain Bradford, already mentioned, who is again shocked by a show of supposed indecency. While visiting a church in Venice, one noted for its fine paintings and sculpture, he was surprised to see a naked Grecian female statue in repose. He was shocked with the indecency of its being in a house of worship; and because he did not wish to examine it before an assembly, he did not attempt to evaluate its

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[79]Ibid., VII (October, 1809), 228.

workmanship.[80]

2. Drama

The stage and Boston, the home of the Monthly Anthology, were incompatible until the last decade of the eighteenth century. Before that time the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had a very drastic law in effect, "not only forbidding play-acting, but even rendering liable to a heavy fine those who, by their mere presence gave countenance to any thing of the kind." But on February 3, 1794, the Federal Street Theatre, known also as the Boston Theatre, opened with two plays by a Mrs. Inchbald. These were "The Midnight Hour," and "Animal Magnetism," a piece ridiculing hypnotism which was then first beginning to be talked about.[81] A rather complete memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth (Simpson) Inchbald appeared in the March and April 1804 issues of the Monthly Anthology, tracing her life from birth to the then present.

But evidence that the Anthologists were particularly

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[80] Ibid., VII (September, 1809), 163-164.

[81] Arthur Hornblow, A History of the Theatre in America from its Beginning to the Present Time, I, p. 228.

interested in drama is limited. In the January 1804 issue we learn that there is a "design for allotting a department in the MONTHLY ANTHOLOGY . . . for reviewing PLAYS, and for strictures on ACTING, under the title of THE DRAMATIC INQUISITOR."[82] This daring and commendable innovation did not, however, go beyond the initial stage. But we do find in the issue for February 1811 an extensive review of "The Clergyman's Daughter," and "The Poor Lodger," by William Charles White, as performed at the Boston Theatre. The reviewer first states that the dramatist is in an enviable position. For unlike the author, who must content with the critic, the dramatist has only to gratify the appetite of the public. This critic's opinion of American dramatic productions is very low, and he says that many of them "have sunk from deserved and general neglect, into undisturbed oblivion. Foscari, The Venetian Exile, The Trust, and the German translations of Mr. Dunlap, have gone unregretted into a common grave with Daranzel, The African, The Pilgrims, and The Happy Tea-Party."[83]

Of the two plays under scrutiny, the reviewer assails especially the language of the characters in "The Clergyman's

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[82]Monthly Anthology, I (January, 1804), 146.
[83]Ibid., X (February, 1811), 119.

Daughter." . . . "Indeed with but few exceptions," he writes, "it appears to us to consist of such a sameness of expression, that we have no doubt the speeches could be transferred from one part to another, without interfering with any of the peculiarities of style, which by a true dramatist, should be conferred upon his personages, so as to distinguish their dialogue by evident characteristics."[84]

That which satisfied the public was not to this reviewer necessarily above average, and he further expressed doubt that the American public was capable of judging the merits of any production. He concludes, therefore, that if the

> Clergyman's Daughter can attract six full houses, and the Poor Lodger four, in Boston, what might not be expected from a production which should combine genius with judgment, and unite just conception of character with faithful delineation. In such an event we have no doubt the American publick would become as enthusiastick as they have been indifferent; and as they have been considered captious because they have not yet had a fair chance to praise with justice, so they would probably, when an opportunity should be offered, pass into the opposite extreme, and bestow such excessive panegyricks as no effort could authorize or deserve.[85]

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[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 121-122.

Although the appearance of a legitimate theatre in Boston was long delayed, especially in comparison to the situation in other American cities, it is with some amazement that one learns of the theatre in Boston having to be defended as late as 1806. The author of a "Remarker" for April 1806 criticizes those who originally opposed the establishment of a theater in Boston and who now refuse to attend it. Such prejudices, he believes, "result from a narrow education and ignorance of the world; since no civilized people ever existed, among whom the dramatist's muse was not a distinguished favourite, whose smiles have been courted, and whose labours have been applauded by the best and wisest men of all nations."[86] To substantiate his stand, the author uses Addison, Young, and Samuel Johnson as men who would not have knowingly "encouraged immorality, or have lessened the influence of religion."

William Scollay, a frequent correspondent of the Monthly Anthology, toured Spain and other foreign lands in 1810 and 1811, and it is from his "Extracts from the Journal

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[86] Ibid., III (April, 1806), 185.

of a Gentleman on a Visit to Lisbon," that we obtain a picture of the Portugal stage as it was in that day. Scollay says that a few years prior to this account, women were not allowed on the stage (men had to take the women's parts). And although the lifting of the ban pleased Scollay, he still had strong misgivings about some of the girls who performed in the productions. "The indecency of the female dancers cannot, I imagine, be exceeded any where," he commented. "Some of them are the handsomest women I have seen in Lisbon, but they o'erstep modesty rather too far even to be pleasing to one who is not remarkably fastidious. The gestures and appearance of the London opera-dancers are of a quaker-like modesty compared to the voluptuous contortions of the Portuguese figurantes."[87]

If we acknowledge the fact that the Monthly Anthology Society was comprised of men known for their intellectual pursuits and abilities, why, then, were there so few articles concerning the Fine Arts? This question can perhaps be best answered by presenting the three major areas of the

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[87]Ibid., X, 79.

Fine Arts selected for this study--Art, Sculpture, and Drama--in relation to the historical background of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The first recognizable period of creativity in American art was the era of Copley and West--prominent American artists of the mid-eighteenth century. They were in their twilight years when the new century opened, with most of their best work completed. Copley was sixty-three years old in 1800, and died in 1815, much in debt. West, born in 1738, was sixty-two years of age. In judging the state of art during the first decade of the nineteenth century, we must look to students of Benjamin West. Gilbert Stuart, who painted Buckminster, Tudor, and Shaw, and William Dunlap and Rembrandt Peale, who painted the historical panoramas which were so popular and which were exhibited from town to town, received considerable acclaim from the public. According to Peale's statement, "he realized the sum of $8,886 from exhibiting his 'Court of Death.' Henry Sargent made $3,000 from the exhibition of a large picture of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and later sold the picture for the same amount."[88]

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[88]Suzanne LaFollette, Art in America, p. 71.

The public unfortunately did not approach art with a critical or judicious eye. As reported by LaFollette, in every case, "the appeal of the picture to the public lay on its subject and not at all in its merit as a work of art. Even the subject was not at all important."[89]

The American scene in regard to sculpture and sculptors was even more bleak. One writer, in commenting on English artists and sculptors, said that "our ancestors here in America were without sculptural tradition. . . . The Pilgrim Fathers were the elderly brothers of those men who decapitated the cathedral statuary, who burned paintings and tabooed the drama. Even their music was of an unhappy sort. This world was to them a vale of tears, and art was a temptation to be strenuously resisted."[90] And it was not until after the third decade of the nineteenth century that native sculpture appeared, "other than the wax relief of Patience Wright, the wood-carvings of William Rush, and the unrelated efforts of Hezekiah Augur."[91]

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[89] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[90] Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 3.

[91] Ibid., p. 5.

With respect to the stage, it was the quality of plays presented at the turn of the century which caused dissatisfaction among the patrons. The plays of the German playright, Kotzebue, were in current demand, and although "the more cultural theatre-goers wanted Shakespeare and the classics, . . . the larger public found the highly flavored Kotzebue drama more to its taste, and the manager, to make both ends meet, was forced to neglect the few and cater to the many."[92] According to Oral Sumner Coad, Kotzebue, "by presenting the aristocrat as vicious, the common man as the embodiment of virtue . . . caught the favor of the growing spirit of democracy which had been fostered by the French Revolution."[93] It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why the Federalist-dominated Society, responsible for the Monthly Anthology, rebelled at endorsing such sentiments. In speech, in writing, and also in the Fine Arts, the anti-intellectual attitudes peculiar to the democratic masses were from the beginning the antithesis of those held by the Society.

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[92]Hornblow, op. cit., p. 257.

[93]Ibid., p. 253.

CHAPTER V

LITERARY CRITICISM

The Monthly Anthology featured no department or section entitled "Literary Criticism," but virtually all literary criticism was contained in the "Boston Review," a monthly section which featured reviews of recently published books, pamphlets, sermons, and addresses. It was in this department that the Anthology reviewers not only pointed out the mistakes in grammar and style, but also endeavored to give recognition to promising poets and authors.

A. The British Influence

The standards of literary excellence set forth by the Anthologists were based on the writings of the eighteenth century, particularly those which were published during the British Augustan Age. The Society looked back to the neo-classic period as exemplified by the writings of Pope, Swift, Addison, Dryden, Johnson, and Goldsmith. Their works generally exhibited minute attention to detail, perfection of

form, a lack of ornamentation, and a fondness for classical models. The use of common language to express one's innermost feelings, and an interest in the individual rather than society--qualities to be found in writers of the Romantic Period--were scrupulously avoided by the neoclassicists.

The Anthology Society, as did the writers of the Augustan Age, decried innovation, and "impurities in language" were brought to the attention of the public whenever they were encountered.

Veneration for the great English poets was expressed in the Monthly Anthology by means of short, but very complimentary articles. In an article on Alexander Pope, Frederick Tudor said that Pope was "fond of imitating the ancients; though what he borrowed he improved, and his own thoughts were not inferiour to theirs."[1] Tudor thought that of all the ancient poets, Pope most resembled Virgil, as he had "the same correctness, the same majesty of number, allowing for the inferiority of a modern language."[2]

Spenser, insisted one author, "combines the discriminative

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[1]Monthly Anthology, III (January, 1806), 15.

[2]Ibid., 16.

features of Homer and Virgil . . . . He can and does cheer the disconsolate and doubtful mind to comfort and hope; he can and does charm the sullen and indifferent heart to love and rapture."[3]

The periodical writers, Addison and Johnson, were compared in "Silva" for July 1809. The authoress of this article, Miss Townsend, stated that it was the custom to place Addison in a superior position to Johnson, as he was the first author in that style. As to the merits of each, Miss Townsend wrote that "Addison allures, entertains, improves us; Johnson commands, astonishes, and elevates. The one addresses us as rational creatures, to whom refinement is advantageous; the other as accountable beings, to whom amendment is indispensable."[4]

J. S. J. Gardiner felt that Johnson's life of Milton was more agreeable with truth than was Hayley's. He said

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[3] Ibid., IV (January, 1807),

[4] Ibid., VII (July, 1809), 29.

that "Democrats and revolutionists have felt a lively interest in defending the bard, where he is the least defensible, in his moral and political conduct." As far as his genius was concerned, Gardiner said that "there can be but one opinion. In sublimity, he excels, perhaps, all writers. But his style is often stiff, quaint, and pedantick, from which cause arises the difficulty of reading him."[5]

Another author felt that Goldsmith was superior to all. Said this writer: "I read him with more pleasure than Pope, for I believe he has more exquisite sentiment; more of pure morals; and more of that nature, which bursts out in Thomson, which finds a ready entrance to every heart, that is not corrupted by folly, or rendered callous by a city life."[6]

"The Lady of the Lake," by Walter Scott, received a very complimentary review. The reviewer called Scott "the finest of the English poets now living." After giving a lengthy extract from the second canto, he said:

> Mr. Scott's measures, in his Lady of the Lake, are more regular than those in either of his other poems.

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[5]Ibid., VI (February, 1809), 87-88.

[6]Ibid., III (February, 1806), 63.

> But this regularity, instead of increasing, seems to lessen the sweetness of his numbers. His rhymes, which in the Lay of the Last Minstrel and Marmion were often far from homotonous, are in this poem, with scarcely a single exception, scrupulously exact.[7]

Although Thomas Moore certainly did not possess the stature of Scott, his talents were generally admired. Yet there were reviewers who could not overlook the licentiousness of his writings. One particular writer for the Anthology felt that the poetry of Moore "is read with emotions bordering on horrour, by every mind which retains any sanctity and healthiness of principle." To this writer, it was deplorable that his poems "should find admission into any other libraries, than those of a brothel."[8]

Another review, this one of Moore's "Epistles, Odes, and other Poems," was only slightly more complimentary. With respect to his lighter poetry, the reviewer, A. Norton, said that it "is not always well finished; the ideas are often indistinct, and the images obscure; but it is commonly highly polished, the versification is smooth, and the

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[7] Ibid., IX (November, 1810), 340,344, Review of "The Lady of the Lake," by Walter Scott. Boston: T. B. Wait and Company, 1810.

[8] Ibid., II (September, 1805), 458-459.

language brilliant." But to achieve this position, "he has made a very dear sacrifice, for he has built his fame as a poet, on the ruins of his reputation as a man, and written with no common disregard of decency and morality."[9]

A literary controversy which took place within the ranks of the Society, and which involved the genius of Thomas Gray, occurred between J. S. J. Gardiner and J. S. Buckminster. Gardiner felt that any scholar could write poetry as well as Gray, whereas Buckminster defended the poet. The views of each appeared both in "Silva" and in "The Remarker" departments of Volume V. In all, Gardiner wrote four articles, and Buckminster two.[10]

Of the English novels reviewed extensively by the Anthology, not one received substantial praise. The novel which received possibly the most critical review was Fleetwood; or The New Man of Feeling, by William Godwin. E. T. Dana, in speaking of the many persons who persist in the attempt to write novels, said that

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[9]Ibid., IV (January, 1807), 41, Review of Epistles, Odes, and Other Poems, by Thomas Moore. Philadelphia: John Watts, 1806.

[10]For an extensive treatment of the controversy, see Lewis P. Simpson, The Federalist Literary Mind, p. 26.

> counsellors and clergy, statesmen and ladies, booksellers and beaux, some without brains and some with, as if smit by enchantment, couch the quill for romance. Bleeding nuns and bloodless corses, vacant castles and peopled caverns, blue flames and white, red flames and green, damsels and knights, duennas and squires, friars and devils, with death's-heads and cross-bones to boot, dance the hay through their works, as though descriptions were crazed.[11]

The reviewer particularly felt that Godwin "had mistaken his province; that the gallantries of Paris, and the exploits of collegians, were unsuitable materials for the author of Falkland, and the tremendous Bethlem Gabor."[12]

The main defects of the story are "violent metaphors, long-winded reflections, and declamatory sentiment." The following is an example of the "true sublime," or, as Dana put it, "rhetorick run mad:"

> 'Shall I go to my wife, and confront her with this new evidence of her guilt? No, I will never speak with her, never see her more. It is a condescension unworthy of an injuried husband ever to admit his prostituted consort into his presence! It is as if God should go down and visit Satan in his polluted, sulphureous abodes! How from my inmost soul I abhor her! How I will hold her up to the abhorrence of the world----How I should like to see her torn with red-hot pinchers!---To what a height I have loved her! No, no, no, no, no--never!'[13]

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[11]Monthly Anthology, III (March, 1806), 159, Review of Fleetwood; or, The New Man of Feeling, by William Godwin. New York: J. Riley and Company, 1805.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., 160.

Leonora, a novel by Maria Edgeworth, was thought to be considerably above average--even though it did not "exhibit great originality of thought and expression, ingenuity of invention, or interesting incident" to recommend it. The reviewer concerns himself principally with giving a general outline of the novel--using quotations liberally; however, the most enlightening portions of the review are the remarks respecting "the late fashionable philosophistical, metaphysical French system of morality, in which MARRIAGE and DIVORCE 'cross over and go six hands around,' while virtue and vice, chastity and prostitution, and religion with atheism are seen 'walsing' together in harmonious concert."[14] The reviewer is, accordingly relieved that the "epidemick fury, with which this doctrine was given and received, seems somewhat to be abated," and especially that many of the boarding-school misses "have even condescended to hear, that the chivalrous profession of an all-subduing heroine is less advantageous and honourable, than that of a modest and virtuous woman; and that it is better to secure the

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[14]Ibid., (August, 1806), 438, Review of Leonora, a novel in two volumes, by Maria Edgeworth. New York: I. Riley & Company, 1806.

affections of one man of sense, than to be seen leading a trillion of frown-mangled fops in triumph."[15]

B. American Poetry and Prose

One of the foremost American poets to come under the scrutiny of the reviewers was Joel Barlow. A review of Barlow's most formidable work, The Columbiad, appeared in the August, 1809 issue of the journal. The reviewer points out how in various respects this epic poem differs from those composed according to rules governing epics; i. e., subject as one single great event; subject not of modern date; characters marked and distinguished from each other; no new qualities attributed to them; and the manners and usages of the age adhered to. He has nothing but praise for the poem. "As to the versification of this poem," says the reviewer, "it is not such as we could praise in any other but which suits very well to the character of the present, in which an attention to minute accuracy would have been entirely out of place;" that there are couplets "in which for the sake of a rhyme some unlucky word is compelled to serve in an office,

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[15]Ibid.

to which it has been quite unaccustomed;" or couplets "in which, for the like cause, the niceties of grammatical instruction are a little disregarded."[16] It all may be summed up in the reviewer's remarks concerning the phraseology of the poem. According to him, the

> author uses the privilege, which belongs to writers of the first class, of enriching the language and extending its limits. His improvements in this way may be reduced, for the most part, to three classes, comprehending 1st, words entirely of his own invention; 2nd, old words used in new senses; 3rd, words made poetical, which had been considered as hopelessly prosaick.[17]

With exuberance barely self-contained, the author exclaims: "We scarcely ever met with a work, in which every thing, to use an expressive vulgarism, was so much of a piece as in the present poem."[18] After reference to a passage relating to the river Maragnon, he says: "This is original. We speak with confidence, when we say, that nothing like it was ever written before; and we cannot affirm, that we look forward with much hope to the ever seeing any thing

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[16] Ibid., VII (August, 1809), 120, Review of The Columbiad, by Joel Barlow. Philadelphia: Fry and Kammerer.

[17] Ibid., 121.

[18] Ibid.

like it written hereafter."[19]

The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson, published in 1792, in three volumes, resulted in the reviewer finding "little to censure or to praise." And if the reviewers had had a choice, they would much rather have been reviving the impression of their childhood, "by a perusal of the History of Goody Twoshoes, or the Melody of Mother Goose."[20] The volumes consist of a conglomeration of philosophical and satirical essays, instructive letters, and pretty verses. Hopkinson takes in too much territory in his writing; he should have chosen to write in one vein. The principal defect in the volume proved to be a "want of character." The selections "have no point, no tooth," says the reviewer, "and take such ladylike hold on the mind, that we read them and forget them with perfect unconcern."[21] He feels too, that had Hopkinson "gone correctly to work, he would have done something, but he had played with his pen, instead of wielding it like

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., V (September, 1808), 512, Review of the Miscellaneous Essays, and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson. Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 3 vols. 1792.

[21] Ibid., 517.

a man, and it was our duty to take him in hand for his folly."[22]

A volume of poems by Richard B. Davis likewise received little praise. Going through the collection, poem by poem, L. M. Sargent, the reviewer, labeled the design of "Hymn of the Morning Stars," as "truly happy; but the execution comparatively wretched." He added, furthermore, that "'Celestial harmony symphonious rung,' and 'Hail to the power supreme, clothed in the glories of omnipotence,' are tautological expressions. . . . To say, 'enthroned in regions of uncreated light,' is ridiculous: we may as well say, 'placed on an uncreated stool.'"[23]

Although "Terrible Tractoration" and "Democracy Unveiled; or tyranny stripped of the garb of patriotism," by Thomas Fessenden ("Christopher Caustic") were both reviewed in the Anthology, of the two, "Terrible Tractoration" received the more extensive and critical analysis. The first of two reviews of the latter work appeared in the February, 1805 issue. It was not a critical review, however, but principally the story of Perkins and the application of his tractors.

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., IV (May, 1807), 269-270, Review of Poems, by Richard B. Davis. New York: T. & J. Swords, 1807.

But later, in April of the same year, an article entitled, "First Canto of Terrible Tractoration," appeared under "Original Criticism." The reviewer found much to praise with respect to the subject matter of the satire, as well as the versification. But he did criticize the rhymes. The pleasure of similarity of sounds was marred when the last two syllables of a word and that which formed the rhyme were the same, i.e., "description is made to rhyme with subscription; problematic with symtomatic." He also did not receive much pleasure from rhymes, "when the corresponding sounds were farther from the end of the line than the penult syllable." As examples, he cited combinations such as "electricity chimes with duplicity, propriety with society, utility with perfectibility." Although drawing attention to such errors may be considered petty, the author said that "unless we can give form and substance to these, we shall cease to be the author's critick, and become his eulogist."[24]

One of the several controversies to arise in the pages of the Monthly Anthology was on the merits of the works of

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[24]Ibid., II (April, 1809), 169, Review of "Terrible Tractoration," by "Christopher Caustick," First American from the Second London Edition. New York: Stansbury.

David Humphreys, who at one time was Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid. In a lengthy review, J. S. J. Gardiner emphasized first that American poetical works must be judged by other American products, rather than by English. To Gardiner, "our language was not brought to perfection till the reign of Queen Anne, the Augustan age of England, when a host of writers arose of superiour excellence." Since that period, "Poetry has been on the decline, and with some few exceptions, nothing has been produced in the art, likely to obtain the wreath of immortality."[25]

Taking notice of the faults which, stated Gardiner, "is always painful, but by no means the least necessary, or useful part of criticism," he gives such lines as,

> "'Or drag the wild beast struggling
> from his den'" (p. 11 I. 426)

and

> "'The tame brute sheltered, & &'" (p. 32 I. 193),

as instances whereby the emphatic word is the adjective rather than the substantive, which is considered correct.

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[25] Ibid., I (September, 1804), 507-508, Review of the Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys. New York: T. & J. Swords.

And in such lines as

"'While unborn ages rise, and call you blest,'"
(p. 15 I. 346.)

and

"'The untamed forest bowed beneath their toil,'"
(p. 17 I. 422.)

the epithets "have all the accent on the penultimate, contrary to the practice of the best authorities." He said, further: "If every one has a right to accent as he pleases, and use whatever words are current among his associates, unknown to good authors, as Noah Webster and other conceited innovators assert, the language will soon degenerate into a Babylonith dialect, and be fit only for the lowest of the populace."[26]

Humphreys, however, did not let this review go unanswered. In a letter to the Editors of the "Boston Review," using the pseudonym "Harvardiensis," he took issue with the reviewer for concerning himself with the faults, rather than with any of the excellencies. He also submitted lines from "Paradise Lost" whereby Milton, contrary to "the practice of

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[26] Ibid., 510.

the best English authorities," accents epithets upon the penultimate syllable. He then went on to refute the charge of the improper use of adjectives as emphatic words. He used the line, "Or envy holds a whole week's war with sense," from Pope's Prologue to Satires, and the lines, "The mountains lift their green heads to the sky---/And sing their wild notes; to the listening waste," from Thomson's Spring. The editors, in return, offered a few strictures on the author of this letter as well as of another letter. They were ignorant of the writer's identity, and thought him "some vain stripling, just entered into the sophimore [sic] class, eager to display [his] scanty reading."[27] With a surge of pro-English sentiment, Gardiner closed the argument by saying:

> Your justification of licit, which you acknowledge is unauthorized, proves you a true disciple of Noah Webster, that scourge of grammar, no less than your sneer at English literature. Yet let us inform you, young Sir, that all sensible Americans will rely on the great writers of that nation as authorities, until we can produce equal excellence. We know of no American language, that is not Indian, and feel no inclination to resort to the Choctaws, the Chickesaws, the Cherokees, and the Tuscaroras for literary instruction.

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[27] Ibid., II (January, 1805), 44.

> Whilst we speak and write the English language, we are satisfied to be guided in our use of that language by approved English writers, by which we shall guard against modern foppery and provincial impurities. If we flatter ourselves that we have already attained to perfection, we encourage a vain delusion, which will tend to cherish vanity and prevent improvement. Should you, Sir, live till your beard grows, you will be ashamed of your puerile panegyrick on a volume, whose author is probably as much pleased with our candid remarks, as he must be disgusted with your absurd and fulsome adulation.[28]

There was one American poet in particular who, in the eyes of James Savage, warranted above-average praise. In the "Boston Review" for March, 1807, The Wanderer of Switzerland and other Poems, by James Montgomery, was reviewed. After mentioning the various poems of the collection which he thought outstanding, Savage selected from "Remonstrance to Winter," the following verse--the only one exposed to censure:

> 'Spring, the young cherubim of love,
> An exile in disgrace,
> Flits o'er the scene, like NOAH's dove,
> Nor finds a resting place.'

"Without a knowledge of Hebrew," said Savage, "the author might have learned, that our best writers use 'cherubim' only in the plural number . . . and the offense against

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[28] Ibid., 45.

prosody, in the third line, is grating to the ear, and justifiable by no example." But Montgomery, despite his being defective, "like all our great poets, in some matters of inferiour importance, has a magnificence of imagery, and a dignity of sentiment, that few have equalled."[29]

The editors of the journal were especially opposed to the practice of publishing posthumous works unless so requested by the author or demanded by the public. Friends of the departed quite frequently initiated such instances and most often these literary efforts saw an early demise. With respect to this practice, J. S. J. Gardiner said as follows:

> We give our unqualified disapprobation of thus publishing the posthumous crudities of young writers, of no established reputation. The injudicious partiality of friendship ought not to volunteer a measure of this nature; and, in our opinion, nothing can justify the publication of posthumous productions, but the loud and repeated call of the publick voice, arising from the well-grounded popularity of the writer, when living.[30]

One example in particular was that of John Blair Linn, D. D. of Philadelphia, who passed away in his 27th year. In the

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[29]Ibid., IV (March, 1807), 155, Review of The Wanderer of Switzerland, and Other Poems, by James Montgomery. Greenough, Stebbins, & Hunt, and J. F. Fletcher, 1807.

[30]Ibid., (June, 1807), 319.

following lines from Linn's Valerian,

> "'Time, as she flew, increased
> Their number and their strength,'"
> (Book I 1.13)

the reviewer could not accept Time as being of feminine gender. "We have always found him delineated as a venerable old gentleman, with wings, an hour glass, and a scythe," said Gardiner.[31]

Linn used rhymes in this poem which, because of being blank verse, was "contrary to the usage of the best English poets." As to the line, "'And o'er her shoulders fell a shining flood of hair,'" Gardiner considered "A flood of hair" an expression which was "ridiculous and unauthorised."

A review of a volume of poems by Philip Freneau, published in 1786, was to be found in Volume IX, under "Retrospective Review" in the September 1810 issue. The reviewer evaluated the volume as follows: "It is pretty good for the time and circumstances under which it was written, tolerably good for American poetry. But in these

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[31]Ibid., 320. Review of "Valerian," by John Blair Linn. Philadelphia: Thomas & George Palmer.

days of refinement, while the poetical market is glutted with delicacies of every description, a bard of the middling class can hardly expect his produce to be sought after with the greatest avidity, or that the pampered taste of our literary epicures should indulge on a coarse and unsavoury, though perhaps a wholesome morsel."[32] In one selection, "The Midnight Consultation, or a trip to Boston," Freneau very cleverly depicted the leaders of the British forces; but the Anthology considered it a ludicrous performance. The selection which received the most criticism in this article was "The House of Night." In the reviewer's words, it was "the most monstrously uncouth piece which the book has to boast."[33]

American feminine poets and novelists fared somewhat better at the hands of the reviewers than did the male. A book of miscellaneous poems of Susanna Rowson received praise for the sentiments set forth. "We have given our approbation to her intentions," stated the reviewer, "but to say, that she possesses in any high degree the qualities

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[32]Ibid., IX (September, 1810), 199.

[33]Ibid., 201.

of a poet is praise, which, if we would descend to offer, the publick would not endure."[34]

Only two novels by American female authors were reviewed to any great length. And of the two, the one which attained the greatest popular acclaim was The Gamesters: or, Ruins of Innocence, an Original Novel, Founded in Truth, by Caroline Matilda Warren. The ultimate thesis of this work was that "when the husband can find attractions at the gaming table superior to those offered by the domestic fireside, virtue herself is eradicated from his bosom."[35] E. T. Dana, reviewing this novel in the issue for December 1805, said only that it appeared "to have been conceived by an intellect in a state of stagnation, and to have been warmed into being by the affection of folly."[36]

In May 1805 there appeared in the Anthology a review of Emily Hamilton, a novel. Founded on incidents in real life, by "a young Lady of Worcester county." The reviewers

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[34]Ibid., I (November, 1804), 612, Review of The Poems of Philip Freneau. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1786.

[35]Kunitz, p. 737.

[36]Monthly Anthology, II (December, 1805), 669, Review of The Gamesters: or, Ruins of Innocence, by Caroline Matilda Warren. Boston: D. Carlisle, 1805.

said that it was not usual of them to encourage females "to become known as authors, unless convinced that the amusement and instruction which they can furnish will extend beyond the circle of their own partial friends." But proof that the critical judgment of the Anthologists could be softened under certain circumstances was indicated by the reviewer's closing statement: "The style evidently displays the youth of the author, though more simple and correct, than that in which young ladies generally write. The sentiments are common, but just; and though the incidents are neither very numerous nor interesting, they evince considerable ingenuity."[37]

The novel in America had not as yet been recognized as a serious literary form, and although abortive attempts were undoubtedly being made, only a few published novels received a respectable notice in this country.

One of the first successful attempts in early American fiction was The Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill, six years a prisoner among the

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[37]Ibid., (May, 1805), 267-268, Review of Edith Hamilton. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, Jr.

Algerines, by Royall Tyler, author of the then popular The Contrast. Published in 1797, the novel was reviewed in the November 1810 issue under "Retrospective Review," and the reviewer sadly observed that the work was "very undeservedly hastening to oblivion."

It is the story of an ill-prepared doctor and his journey through America, and then Algiers. The reviewer found valuable lessons in the volumes--one of which was to beware of giving a child a better education than that of his parents. Many times a boy returned home "too proud for labour, and too vain for farther improvement." One of the major faults found was in respect to comparative merits of the Christian and Mahometan religions, and he argues that Tyler

> has so decidedly given the Mollah the best of the argument, that the adherence of Updike to Christianity seems the effect rather of obstinacy than of conviction. We enter our solemn protest against this cowardly mode of attacking revelation. It has not even the merit of novelty. Voltaire set the example--and a herd of petty novelists, who thought that to be impious, was to be a Voltaire, have gladly shewn their wit at the expense of their religion.[38]

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[38]Ibid., IX (November, 1810), 346, Review of The Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill, six years a prisoner among the Algerines, by Royall Tyler, 2 vols. Walpole, N. H., 1797.

The first novel by native hands to receive a review worthy of the name was Modern Chivalry, by H. H. Brackenridge. Published in 1804, this work was not reviewed until September 1808, with a second installment appearing in the October issue. A. H. Everett, the reviewer, observed first that the productions of novels by Americans had been numerous but meagre. He mentioned especially that Arthur Merwyn and Wieland "are by no means destitute of merit; though the latter is rather too likely to frighten little children in the night."[39] As to the purpose of this book, Brackenridge had the following to say:

> I shall have accomplished something by this book if it shall keep some honest man from lessening his respectability by pushing himself into publick trusts, for which he is not qualified, or when pushed forward into a publick station if it shall contribute to keep him honest by teaching him the folly of ambition, and further advancement, when in fact the shade is more to be coveted, and the mind on reflection will be better satisfied with itself for having chosen it.[40]

The author's democratic spirit was also emphasized. Brackenridge, like most sober and thoughtful men, commented

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[39]Ibid., V (September, 1808), 498.

[40]Ibid., 508, Review of Modern Chivalry, by H. H. Brackenridge. Philadelphia: J. Conrad & Co., 1810.

Everett, "sees the most obvious evil attending on this form of government, that by frequent elections, the rabble are exalted, and virtue and talents are depressed. This he endeavours to expose by the ridiculous elevation of a vagrant Irishman to offices of respectability and honour."[41] As to the author's view that "it would be better for the country that all restraints on naturalization should be removed, that every foreigner on his first entrance into the country, whether wealthy or indigent, should immediately have a free right to elect or be elected," the reviewer felt, instead, that "the conduct of many foreigners, who have taken advantage of this happy asylum, ought to prove the necessity of strong and operative restriction."[42]

In measuring Brackenridge's style, the reviewer said that the "qualities of the style, that are commendable, are plainness, perspicuity, and simplicity;" and although "it will never, like its great model, the work of the immortal Cervantes, assume a commanding rank in the literature of the

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[41] Ibid., (October, 1808), 554.

[42] Ibid., 555.

world . . . it may be read without disappointment, and even with much satisfaction, by those, who would beguile a vacant hour with amusement, and he that reflects on the argumentative parts, may draw from them no small improvement."[43]

Another work which helped to establish its author as a prominent novelist was A History of New York, by Washington Irving. Published in 1809, this two-volume work was reviewed in the February 1810 issue of the journal. The reaction of the reviewer was much the same as that which the reader of today experiences when reading the tale. We learn that readers 'who have a relish for light humour, and are pleased with that ridicule which is caused by trifling, and to the mass of the world, unobserved relations and accidents of persons and situations, will be often gratified."[44] Although all of the Dutch characters portrayed by Irving were subjects for praise, the reviewer selected as an extract that of Wouter Van Twiller. He then ended the review with an exceptionally lengthy excerpt of Irving's description of the

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[43] Ibid., 558.

[44] Ibid., VIII (February, 1810), 124, Review of A History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker. Inskeep and Bradford and W. M'Ilhenny, 1809.

Hudson river, all of which "exhibits a taste, a freshness, an effect, in some of the parts, that rivals the poetick painting of Walter Scott."[45]

The reviewers of the Anthology did not limit their criticism to novels or poetry, but applied it to published sermons and discourses as well. In a review of a sermon delivered by a Jotham Waterman, pastor of "the east church of Christ in Barnstable," the sarcasm is undisguised. The author's thesis is that "'a man who lives a recluse cannot be so intelligent, as one who has been conversant with different men and societies.'"[46] But "if you had travelled," said Gardiner, "you would not have used such words as disconnexion, indesireable, and unfeeling, as a substantive; nor would you have told us of nature's receiving its final convulsion. A contusion, indeed, may be received; and if received in a certain part, is very apt to disorder it."[47]

In his notes to the sermon, Brother Waterman called the reviewers "'full-grown monarchists, a little junto of

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[45] Ibid., 126.

[46] Ibid., IV (May, 1807), 281, Review of "Two Better than One," a sermon by Brother Jothan Waterman. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1806.

[47] Ibid.

little men in and around Boston, a set of thorough-paced slanderers.'" "This is very severe," said Gardiner, "but would he really punish us, he will publish no more, which will certainly deprive us of much amusement, and many a hearty laugh."[48]

Of a discourse delivered to the American Revolution Society of Cincinnati, the reviewer notes that the "style is too inverted. In the composition of the sentences, there are too many members and useless adjectives. Two or three instances of bad grammar are discoverable. The relatives, that and which, are too often elliptically omitted, and the former is sometimes used, when the latter should have been preferred, both on account of perspicuity and euphony."[49]

C. The American Language

Although correct style and proper subject matter were of concern to the Anthologists in their critical analyses,

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., III (February, 1806), 105.

the proper use of words was particularly emphasized. Even a cursory examination shows this to be true. Throughout the majority of reviews and articles examined in this present chapter, emphasis is placed on (1) the need for correct English usage, and (2) acceptable spelling forms. And although many of the reviews contained evidence of incorrect word usage and questionable word derivations, the best means of realizing the Society's attitude toward the American language is by examining the reviews of Noah Webster's dictionaries and grammars which were being published at the time.

Although in retrospect it might seem to the present-day reader that everyone in early nineteenth century America accepted Noah Webster's dictionaries and grammars without question, this was far from being so. The Monthly Anthology, for one, was not only suspicious of his motives but found little in his works to commend.

To a large extent the hard feelings between the Society and Webster were due in part to one's preference for the grammarians Drs. Lowth and Johnson, and the other for Horne Tooke. Webster claimed Tooke as his authority or master whereas the Society was in sympathy with the principles of

English set forth by Lowth and Johnson.

Webster took it upon himself to survey Johnson's dictionary, in particular, and to publish his findings. In a review of a letter to a Dr. David Ramsay, of Charleston, S. C. "respecting the errours in Johnson's dictionary, and other lexicons," Webster found fault with Johnson's dictionary first because of the "'insertion of a multitude of words that do not belong to our language.'" The reviewer said, in turn, that this was harmless and should not receive such undue censure. Webster also felt that Johnson's work tended to pervert and corrupt the language, and in this respect he was referring to the vulgar and cant words which Johnson included. Webster, however, purposely overlooked the fact that Johnson was cautious in entering them, as they were "followed by such warnings as these: obsolete--a low word--vulgar--a sense vulgar and unauthorised, &."[50]

The reviewer's major objection was that Webster accused Johnson of using authors who, in his opinion, "did not write the language with purity." Johnson's examples,

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[50]Ibid., IV (December, 1807), 672.

though, were by men such as Swift, Addison, Temple, Milton, and Dryden--certainly authors who could be expected to write with purity. But toward the end of the letter the reader is reassured by Webster that he shall complete the true investigation of language started by Horne Tooke--pursuing it "with zeal, and undoubtedly with success." To this exclamation, the reviewer could only say that Webster "has a right to express his confidence at the beginning of the race; and if he should not gain the prize for which he started, it will be the time after his failure, for those who are disposed to worry a jaded author, to assail him with the weapons of ridicule and malice."[51]

The bad feelings between Noah Webster and the Monthly Anthology were intensified because of the articles by a Mr. B. D. Perkins of New York, writing under the pseudonym of "Steady Habits," and James Savage, an active member of the Society. In an article pertaining to a published communication in which Webster boasted of the wide acceptance of his works in New England, Perkins found no evidence that Webster's

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[51] Ibid., 673-675.

Practical Grammar was held in great repute in New York and New Jersey. It is true that President Smith of Princeton endorsed the work; however, Perkins said that even Nassau Hall afforded "as little shelter from this darling child of Mr. Webster as the 'metropolis of New England!'" Actually, it was to a large extent Webster's manner--his superior attitude and condescending manner which antagonized Perkins and other members of the Society. Perkins, for example, exclaimed:

> No person would more readily contribute his mite to assist that gentleman in any project, which would advance the real interests of literature; but while he voluntarily seats himself in the great chair of criticism, he should make his decisions conformably to its laws. The principle, that the king can do no wrong, does not extend here; and when therefore his lingual majesty maltreats his subjects for not submitting to the new conde which he has extracted from Norman, Teutonick, Celtick, Saxon and Gothick barbarians, he must expect that they will resolutely maintain their right to remonstrate; and, if his administration deserve it, to resist him as an usurper.[52]

The appearance of Webster's A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language occasioned a biting review from James Savage. He especially contested Webster's assigning new classes to words when the old names of the

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[52] Ibid., VII (December, 1809), 370-371.

parts of speech had sufficed. Under the Webster system, said Savage, for nouns we are ordered to say names; for pronouns, substitutes; for adjectives, attributes; for adverbs, modifiers; for conjunctions, connectives."[53] Webster also stated that the is no part of speech distinct from this or that, and that articles should not be included as parts of speech. Despite the evidence which Webster purported to be correct, Savage said, nevertheless:

> We scorn the notion of an American tongue, or of gaining our idiom from the mouths of the illiterate, rather than from the pages of Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope, Attenbury, Prior, Chesterfield, Thomson, Hawkesworth, Sherlock, Johnson, Hume, Goldsmith, Gibbon, Armstrong, Blackstone, and Robertson. The English language, as well as their liberties, is our birthright.[54]

A matter of great importance to the Society was the many "Americanisms" which were slowly finding their way into the English vocabulary. These "vulgarisms," or off-hand coinages, were a constant irritant to the Society, and Webster was again the scapegoat.

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[53] Ibid., V (May, 1808), 268, Review of A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language, by Noah Webster. New Haven: Oliver Steele and Company, 1808.

[54] Ibid., 277.

In a review of Webster's Compendious Dictionary of the English Language . . ., published in 1806, the reviewer found fault first with the appropriate sense of words that Webster employed: "combination means, we are told, an association; but it would be inconsistent with the settled propriety of speech to say 'a combination for the diffusion of religious knowledge.'" But it is the many examples of impurities that incur the displeasure of the reviewers. They oppose the word slump, and spry, "a word which has neither use nor dignity;" lengthy, which "is the worst of the whole catalogue of Americanisms;" and test, "a verb only in writers of an inferiour rank, who disregard all the landmarks of language."[55]

The general opinion of this work by the editors of the Anthology may be summed up best in the following statement:

> But the fault of most alarming enormity in this work, is the approbation given to the vulgarisms of some of our illiterate writers, and the unauthorized idioms of conversation. Mr. Webster seems to have expected to ingratiate himself with the ignorant by admitting their perversions of our tongue to an equal rank with the pure offspring of standard authors; and this will make

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[55]Ibid., VII (October, 1809), 264, Review of Compendious Dictionary of the English Language . . ., by Noah Webster. Sidney's Press, 1805.

> his book a most dangerous guide for our young scholars, and forever prevent it from being quoted as of any authority. He has been lavish enough of marks of reprobation upon words found in some of our greatest moralists, poets and criticks, but has afforded no warning against such as discover a man's origin and acquaintance with certainty of disgrace. We have examined them with regret, for we deprecate every instance of diversity between the language of conversation in England and this country. Except a very few anomalies, which sometimes intrude themselves into the composition of some of even our most careful scholars, we believe the English language is preserved with as much purity among us as in the mother country.[56]

Noah Webster's answers to such charges were quite conclusively brought out in the two published letters already referred to. In Letter II he argued:

> In the few instances in which I write words a little differently from the present usage, I do not innovate, but reject innovation. When I write fether, lether, and mold, I do nothing more than reduce the words to their original orthography, no other being used in our earliest English books. . . . I write hainous, because it is the true orthography from the French haine, haineup; and this was the manner of writing the word till within an age. . . . I write melasses, because it is the Italian melassa, from mel, honey, or the Greek melas, black. . . . I do not write honour, candour, errour, because they are neither French nor Latin. If we follow the French, the orthography ought to be honeur, candeur, erreux; if the Latin, as we ought, because they are Latin words, then we ought to write honor, and this is now the best and most common usage.[57]

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[56] Ibid., 263.

[57] Ibid., (September, 1809), 209.

The Anthologists were disappointed in both the quantity as well as the quality of literature being produced. The author of a "Remarker" for the December 1805 issue, said that of the epic poets Barlow and Dwight, the greatest defect in their poems was an entire want of interest: "We doze over the Vision of Columbus, and if we are kept awake in perusing the Conquest of Canaan, we are indebted to the thunder and lightning, that roars and flashes in every page . . . so that, as a wit once observed, it is scarcely safe to read this poem without a conductor."[58] He warned the reader that actually America was yet in its infancy, as far as literature was concerned, and that "to compare our authors, whether in prose or poetry, to those of the old world, can proceed only from the grossest ignorance, or the most insufferable vanity."[59]

In an article on critics and authors, J. S. Buckminster points out the problems a critic faces: "So rare have been the instances among us of manly and unprejudiced criticism, that, to point out the faults of a living author,

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[58] Ibid., II (December, 1805), 632.

[59] Ibid.

instead of making him grateful, only makes him mad; and he discovers all the fury, which is felt by an antiquated belle, when her little niece unluckily espies a gray hair among the sable honours of her head, and innocently presumes to pull out the intruder."[60]

But if an author possesses the right to publish freely, the critic likewise has certain rights which should be respected. One should realize that "every man who publishes, virtually offers a challenge to the publick, or at least courts their decision. By claiming praise, he runs the hazard of censure; and they, in whose power it is to confer the one, have undoubtedly a right to administer the other."[61]

The Monthly Anthology did not slacken in its efforts to expose the works of inferior quality being published throughout the country. Little of this output could stand up under critical appraisal, and Buckminster thought there was too much tendency to excuse such work from examination.

> The indulgent remarks of candid friends, the simpering smiles of kitchen-criticks, the puffing advertisements

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[60] Ibid., III (January, 1806), 19.

[61] Ibid., 20.

> of newspapers, and the lullaby strains of poetasters, will never patronize the growth of solid learning, nor confer immortality on the authors of our country. Furthermore, if we excuse a work merely because it is American, we are only feeding children with sweetmeats, or wrapping them up warm against the cold, and thus laying the foundation of perpetual vanity, imbecility, and idiotism.[62]

In general, the severe criticism of the literature of the day was justifiable. An American critic of today, G. Harrison Orians, acknowledges that to a few "belong the soul of song and the fire of intellect, but during this period American literature was chaotic and so remained until after the second war with England. Practical interest absorbed the attention of aspiring authors, and domestic and foreign policies and European complications proved a drain upon imaginative energies."[63]

Another critic of the present day, in writing of the post Revolutionary period (about 1790), says that the work of such men as Freneau, Trumbull, Barlow, Dwight, and Hopkinson was "effective and often brilliant, but it followed old models." And itwas not until 1810 and after, that "with

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[62] Ibid., 22.

[63] G. Harrison Orians, Short History of American Literature, p. 53.

Irving and Cooper and Bryant and Halleck, our writers began to express the national character and scene by way of dealing with American materials."[64]

In an evaluation of the literary criticism contained in the Monthly Anthology, one first needs to examine the works published during this span of time, as set against the list of those works reviewed in the journal. Of the major novels published from 1790-1800, only reviews of Charlotte Temple, The Coquette, Arthur Merwyn, and Ormond were absent. Of the leading novels published within the first decade of the nineteenth century, no notice was taken of Edgar Huntly, Clara Howard, or Jane Talbot--all written by Charles Brockden Brown.

The question which logically follows is whether the Anthology writers had access to the principal novels and selections of poetry which were being published during the years under study. The Anthology constantly urged authors and publishing houses to furnish the journal with copies of new works for purposes of review, and it is natural to assume that success in this respect was wanting. Yet it

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[64]Henry Walcott Boynton, Annals of American Bookselling, 1638-1850, p. 126.

does seem odd that three novels of Brown, in particular, were not considered for review.

The flavor of the writing and whether or not the subject matter of the poem or novel was in accord with that of the critics set the tone for many of the articles. And there is indisputable evidence that an author who was in sympathy with Jeffersonian or Republican views received rather harsh treatment from the critics. But to say that the Anthologists were wrong in their attempt to establish certain standards of literary excellence by which works should be judged is incorrect. The reviewers acted as one in their allegiance to the neoclassic ideal--a belief in traditionalism and a feeling of revulsion toward innovation. They thought it their obligation to a people awakening to nationalism to do their part in maintaining "correctness" in writing--a quality which had always been an integral part of the Augustan Age.

CHAPTER VI

LITERARY FORMS

The literary forms represented in the Monthly Anthology are (1) Biography, (2) Poetry, (3) the Novel, (4) the Essay, and (5) the Letter.

A. Biography

From August 1804 through January and March 1805, the Monthly Anthology featured a section entitled "Biographia America--Or Anecdotes of Professional, Learned, or Distinguished Characters in America." In this section were short paragraphs of such persons as William Penn, L. Hoar, Patrick Henry, General Richard Montgomery, Nathan Fiske, and David Tappan. Biographical accounts in the remaining volumes of the series were usually entitled "Biographical Sketch of _____;" "Character of _____;" "Life of _____;" "Sketch of the Life and Character of _____;" or "Account of _____." Several "Memoirs of . . ." were included. These consisted of excerpts from the memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald, a prominent British actress and playwright; of Jean Francois

Marmontel, historiographer of France, and author of Memoires d'un pere; and of Aldus Manutius, founder of the Aldine press. Although these diversified headings were employed, the treatment of the subject was very similar in form.

Of particular interest, however, is the fact that the biographic accounts were predominantly of British notables. A total of at least twenty subjects were noted, and of these, only five were Americans. A total of six were Italian and French.

Very few of the biographies were from the pens of the Anthologists. In fact, many were reprinted from foreign periodicals, i. e., one of the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox, from the Bombay Courier; of the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, from the General Magazine; of Rousseau, from Fellowe's Christian Philosophy; and of the poet Nat. Lee, from "a late British publication."

Biography is intended to be a "narrative which seeks, consciously and artistically, to record the actions and recreate the personality of an individual life."[1]

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[1]Encyclopaedia Britannica, III, 593.

The style of the biographies presented in the Anthology is of the kind, however, that extols all the virtues of the individual and mentions very few of his faults. For example, although the Hon. Samuel Dexter's faults are given in a biographical sketch of his life, they are tempered to such an extent that they give the impression of being of small consequence. The reader learns that:

> warm and constant in his attachments, he was naturally inclined to vehemence in his resentments. When he conquered this propensity, it was the triumph of principle; not so much a compliance with the dictate of philosophy, as obedience to Christianity. He had uncommon talents for sarcastick composition; but though he indulged his inclination for this in former periods of his life, he declared in old age that he sincerely repented of it; thinking it immoral and unchristian to delight in wounding the feelings of others.[2]

Although the following happened to be a reprint which appeared in the Anthology, the typical biographies which appeared in the Anthology are much like that written of David Tappan, D. D. A. A. S., one-time Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. After giving details of his birth and education, the author proceeds to assess the subject's virtues: "He had a facility in fixing his attention,

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[2]Monthly Anthology, IX (July, 1810), 7.

and discriminating and arranging his thought," said his biographer. "His head was clear, and his apprehension quick."[3] Tappan's moral and religious being (his faith) is recorded, followed by compliments on his life as a professor of divinity, a citizen, and lastly as a family man. Upon his decease, his last moments are duly recorded and reproduced in this article.

The accounts entitled "Character of _____" are more eulogistic than were the conventional biographical accounts. One such example is found in the "Character of Rev. Dr. Howard," which appeared in the March 1806 issue of the journal. This article stresses all the known virtues possessed by man--all of which were possessed by the temperate Reverend Dr. Howard. The "impassioned kind of eloquence" to be found in many preachers of that day was not that of Dr. Howard, for the "unaffected simplicity of his character" enabled him to move listeners by the "pathos of his voice and language."[4]

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[3] Ibid., II (March, 1805), 121.

[4] Ibid., III (March, 1806), 115.

B. Poetry

For the first few months of the Anthology's existence, no distinction was made between the original and selected poetical pieces included in the poetry section. It all was put under "Poetry." But then one notices in a later volume that the poetry section is divided into "Original" and "Selected." Upon examination, however, one realizes that the Anthology was not consistent in its process of arranging the selections of poetry under these headings. Under "Original" can be found one selection taken from the Palladium, January 1, 1802; and in another instance, "The Sabbath" "lately published in England." Poets of works which appeared in the "Selected" division included Cowper, Swift, Thomson, and Goldsmith. It is very possible that the tastes of the editors and Anthologists determined the selections to be included under "Selected." But for purposes of this study, only poems which are under "original" and which seem to be by novices are considered.

The "Original" section contains pieces such as a two-hundred-and-eighty-line poem written on the death of Arthur M. Walter; translations of Horace; a selection

entitled "From a Manuscript of the Late Honourable Benjamin Pratt, Esq., Chief Justice of the Province of New-York;" occasional poems delivered at Phi Beta Kappa anniversaries and meetings; and various exercises in Latin. Translations, particularly those of Horace's Odes, occupy considerable space in the section devoted to poetry; and the man whose name appears most often with respect to Horace's Odes (in excess of thirty), is Levi Frisbie, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity of Harvard from 1817-1822. The following entries taken from the Minutes are representative of the regularity with which Frisbie submitted his exercises:

Nov. 14, 1809

> Mr. Thacher read from Mr. Frisbie a Translation of an Ode of Horace Tu ne quaesieris and also an Imitation, which were accepted.

Dec. 12, 1809

> Mr. Thacher read two translations of Mater saeva cupidinum and of the Ode to Dellius, by our friend Frisbie, which were accepted.

June 13, 1809

> Mr. Savage read a translation of an Ode of Horace Diffugeri nives and another of Solvitur acris hyems by Mr. Frisbie, which were accepted.

Aug. 1, 1809

> Mr. Willard read two pieces of poetry, one on a rose faded, and the other a translation of Ode 30 Lib I of Horace from our friend Frisbie, which were accepted.

Feb. 13, 1810

> Mr. Savage then read two translations of Ode 24 Book I of Horace, by Mr. Norton and by Mr. Head, which were accepted.[5]

Mr. Frisbie, who used the letter C. as a signature, also submitted several poems entitled "A Castle in the Air," or variations thereof. Although these were accepted, they became quite irritating to at least one member of the Society, for it was recorded in the Minutes that Mr. Shaw read 'another castle in the air,' which was accepted, Mr. Stickney voting against it."[6] Written in iambic tetrameter, they were usually light, airy verse, as is shown by the following stanza taken from "A Castle in the Air" which appeared in the September, 1809 issue of the journal.

> I'll tell you, friend, what sort of wife,
> Whene'er I scan this scene of life,
> Inspires my waking schemes;
> And when I sleep, with form so light,
> Dances before my ravish'd sight,
> In sweet aerial dreams.[7]

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[5]Howe, op. cit., pp. 213, 216, 191, 197, and 223, respectively.

[6]Ibid., p. 209.

[7]Monthly Anthology, VII (September, 1809), 179.

God and Nature were popular subjects for novice poets. Titles of poems such as "An Ode to Winter," "The Withered Oak," "The Mariner," and "Summer Evening" are only a few of the many poems on Nature sprinkled throughout the Anthology.

The following poem, of which only two stanzas are reprinted here, is in quatrain, ballad stanza form--iambic tetrameter alternating with iambic trimeter. It is a hymn to God, acknowledging his power and wisdom:

HYMN

Written during the late violent Thunderstorm . . . .
11th May, 1805

1.
GREAT GOD, thy wond'rous pow'r and might
The Heaven and earth surround;
Thou didst but speak and all was light,
Above, below, around.

2.
Thy word decreed the glorious sun
To cheer each op'ning day;
Bade him his daily course to run,
And life and light convey.[8]

Two selections with Nature as their subject, written in iambic tetrameter quatrains, are "Lines Written At Sea After a Storm" and "Written at Sunset." Both are reproduced

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[8]Ibid., II (June, 1805), 308.

in their entirety:

THE faithless waves I'll trust no more,
Nor fickle winds, nor baleful skies;
Return me to my native shore,
My heart in every danger cries.

But praise to him, who rules the wave!
His hand, that wields the lightning's spear,
Outstretch'd has kindly been to save,
His ear has ever heard my prayer.

If thou restore me to my native land,
To thee I will devote my days;
Withdraw not thy protecting hand,
But guide me thro' temptation's maze.[9]

WRITTEN AT SUNSET

WET with the tears, which evening weeps,
The closing flower conceals her breast,
Secure the vernal warbler sleeps,
The voice of love and joy suppprest.

Ere long shall night assume her sway,
Reposing nature on her arm
Best the last purple flush of day,
Dissolve the twilight's lingering charm.

And thus the transient joys of life
Fade on Attention's sober eye,
Till next no more with various strife
‡ Man learns to slumber or to die.

H******, April, 1806

‡ And learn with equal ease, to sleep or die.
Mason 10

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[9]Ibid., III (October, 1806), 535.

[10]Ibid., (April, 1806), 194.

Not all of the original poetry was formal and didactic. Some of the selections were in a humorous vein. Of his love, Dolly, "Neddy Nitre" reveals that

> Those gooseberry eyes with emerald lightnings big,
> Beaming sublime like barn-door in the morn,
> Have burnt thy Neddy's heart just like, forsooth,
> A crisp pork-chop upon a gridiron.
> Oh, oh those pouting cherry lips of thine,
> Where little cherubim and seraphim
> Dance sportive to thy throat's wild melody:
> Oh Dolly Dumpling, Dolly Dumpling oh!
> Deign, deign to squint one ray of love divine
> Into my tender bosom, greenlandiz'd
> With cold disdain and Lapland iciness.[11]

The editors of the Anthology occasionally addressed their readers for the purpose of furnishing background material on the correspondents or authors. On one occasion the editor informed the reader that the selection which followed, and which was entitled "An Epithalamium," was from the pen of Trumbull, and was written "while Trumbull resided as a Bachelor at Yale College, on the marriage of one of the Tutors to a lady of great fortune."[12] The editors confessed, however, that "although [they] have ventured to omit a few lines, which were rather too frolicksome for the gravity of the Anthology, [they] have lost little of the

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[11] Ibid., (October, 1806), 535.

[12] Ibid., II (May, 1805), 247.

humour of the piece."[13]

And yet not all pieces of endeavor were received without some comment. Contributors were often advised of their errors, and were subjected to severe criticism for their efforts. That the editors of the Anthology were hard taskmasters can be seen from the following:

> The writer of the following lines (the same we presume who communicated the piece entitled "Dominus providebit" in our last number) has caused us no little trouble in correcting his false quantities. Of similar faults in the other piece we forebore to complain; and as they were few, silently corrected them; but in the present there were so many negligences entirely unpardonable in anyone who pretends to write latin verse, that nothing, but a sincere desire to encourage whatever wears the appearance of classical learning, could have persuaded us to prepare it for insertion. When we solicit contributions from versifiers in any language, we expect that they, and not we, should take care of their prosody.[14]

In other instances, the selections were prefaced with a plea for acceptance, or for understanding. As one correspondent assured the editors: "Anacreon has sung his barbiton, and Horace his lyre. Every modern magazine has its sonnets to guitars, Aeolian harps, etc. That you may

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., (April, 1805), 195.

not be excepted from the number, I send you the following address."

TO A HAND ORGAN

OUT on your noise, ye blastit wight,
That breaks my slumbers ilka night,
Grindin your tunes for very spite
Through thick and thin!
Ye'd make a Christian swear outright
To hear you din.[15]

And "Herbert," in submitting "A Metrical Paraphrase of the Farewell Rhapsody of Corinna," addresses the editors as follows:

> If you, gentlemen, deem the enclosed paraphrase, or imitation of the Farewell Rhapsody of Corrina worthy a place in your very useful and entertaining Miscellany, you will preserve the fruit of a few winter evenings' amusement by inserting it; but if you think otherwise, and consign it to oblivion in the "outer darkness" of your rubbish room, why, I must only modestly conclude, it is because it has not sufficient of the exalted, enthusiastick, and mechanical spirit of Corinna to preserve it alive.[16]

Yet another aspirant to the title of Poet assured the editors that his offering "was the unpremeditated production of a humble occasion, and is submitted . . . with deference."[17]

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[15] Ibid., IX (August, 1810), 99.

[16] Ibid., VI (February, 1809), 104.

[17] Ibid., VIII (March, 1810), 169.

The style of the original poems submitted was characteristic of the prosody being written during the period under discussion. Allusions to mythological figures, as well as to the Bible, were employed religiously. A poem entitled "Ode to Independence," written by William Bigelow, "and sung by Mrs. Jones, at St. Peter's Church, in Salem, on Wednesday, 4th July, 1804," will serve to reveal the several poetic devices which were used by many of the poets contributing to the Anthology.

> WHEN Britain gigantic, by justice un-
> aw'd,
> Strode over the westerly main,
> With eyes darting fury, and hands
> bath'd in blood,
> Sought to rivet fell tyranny's chain;
>
> Then, arm'd with a shepherdess' sling
> and a stone,
> Rous'd youthful Columbia to meet her
> along,
> Unmov'd by the sword, and the spear,
> and the shield,
> And thus to high heaven undaunted ap-
> peal'd[18]

These two stanzas are marked by the author's use of personification--picturing Britain as a monster being, and America

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[18]Ibid., I (July, 1804), 425.

as a young but strong, brave youth. As was the practice in the poetry of this era, the line "And thus to high heaven undaunted appeal'd," is an example of sentence inversion. And the alliterative use of s's in the line "Unmov'd by the sword, and the spear, and the shield," as well as in another line, "shepherdess' sling and a stone," possess little effectiveness. To be effective, alliteration usually is employed only for reasons of emphasizing certain sounds.

C. The Novel

As was mentioned earlier in this study, the only extensive notice given of novels was in the form of critical reviews. And the three works reviewed were A History of New York, by Washington Irving; Fleetwood, by William Godwin, a Britisher; and Modern Chivalry, by Hugh Brackenridge. Of the three "novels" published in the Anthology, two were translations--Argenis: A Moral and Political Romance "from the Latin of Barclay," and Edmorin and Ella--an Eastern Tale, which appeared in the May, 1804 issue. What one might call the only legitimate novel that was printed in the Anthology was The Soldiers--A British Tale, a serial which ran from June 1804 through April 1805.

This is a tale of two young British soldiers, Rodolpho, and Horatio Therston, who arrive in America from England to fight in the Revolutionary War. Not only is the tale written annonymously, but it is left in an unfinished state--the words (To be continued) at the end of the last installment (April 1805).

The story in brief is that, soon after their arrival in America, Rodolpho is instructed to take over as a garrison, a plantation home owned by a Mrs. Marshall, a widow, and her sixteen year-old daughter Selina. Mrs. Marshall's home had been plundered by a group of rowdy British soldiers, so she is, naturally, suspicious of the two young men. But her fears are unfounded, for in a short space of time she and her daughter, and the two soldiers, become very good friends.

Not long after he has established the garrison, Rodolpho is recalled back to camp for a short period. He and a small retinue leave one morning and on the way through a forest, they meet a recluse and his fifteen year-old niece, Antonia. The story ends rather abruptly soon after this meeting.

All the literary techniques peculiar to the romantic tales which were being written during this period are utilized. The virtues of Rodolpho are innumerated at great length. The reader learns that benevolence "in him was an active principle, that, like a pure and salutary stream, flowed downward, fertilising the humble vallies, while it left dry those barren rocks, whose threatening head cast a frightful shade, and sometimes tumbling down, involve the plain in rain."[19] He also valued merit "wherever he met it, though in a thread-bare coat; while the star that glittered on the breast, the ribband that hung from the shoulder, were overlooked by him, unless they were adorned by virtue, and then he greeted them with rapture."[20]

The author uses the direct method of character delineation to a large extent. Through statement of fact, rather than from the lips of the other characters, the reader is informed of the traits of character. The use of contrast in order to present the traits of the two soldiers is also enlisted. The type of mind possessed by Rodolpho is compared

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[19] Ibid., (June, 1804), 347.

[20] Ibid.

with that of Therston's. In Rodolpho's discussion with Mrs. Marshall, "there were few points of literature or science that he could not discuss with classical correctness; and subjects of taste and sentiment he embellished with the unsophisticated graces of manly eloquence."[21] Therston, on the other hand, "was lively, his judgment had not the maturity, the perspicacity of Rodolpho; but he was ingenious, vivacious, possessed a taste for the fine arts; and the most playful fascinating manner that can be imagined."[22] As a whole, there is no individuality in the characters; they do not grow nor do they change. Although no character changes appreciably, there is some mention of the effect of the two boys on Selina's character. The reader is told that it "received a brighter polish from this intercourse; it became fixed, more true, more powerfully magnetick." And Mrs. Marshall is astute in noticing the effect Rodolpho and Therston had on Selina: "To Rodolpho she looked up as to a being of superiour intelligence; his conversation elevated her soul, and enlarged her ideas; kept her sublime feelings

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[21] Ibid., (September, 1804), 503.

[22] Ibid.

on the stretch of expectation. Horatio purified her taste, and amused her fancy."[23]

The style of the selection seems involved to the modern reader. The sentences are often incredibly long, as can be seen from the description of Colonel Fawcette, Rodolpho's commanding officer. The colonel

> was never known to unbend nor yield to the sweet cordialities of sentiment, which are not inconsistent with the valour of a soldier; but often give a luxury of sensation to the few social hours the turmoil of war allows him, and adds an interest to his character more attractive than the men of war in general perceive, or we should more frequently see the valour that protests the state united with the honour and virtue, that hold sacred those moral ties which constitute the sociability and real happiness of man.[24]

Finally, there are moments when the pace of the tale is halted and the author gives philosophical comments, intended to be profound truths. On one occasion he comments:

> When one considers how small a portion from the stores of the affluent would uncloud the brow of misery, illumine it with cheerfulness, and elevate it with gratitude, one cannot help wondering there is so much misery in the world.[25]

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[23] Ibid., (November, 1804), 600.

[24] Ibid., (June, 1804), 350.

[25] Ibid., (July, 1804), 400.

D. The Essay

The essays which appeared in the Monthly Anthology were, for the most part, formal rather than informal, and they were definitely miscellaneous in respect to subject matter. A few of the formal essays were: "On Greek Literature," by C. S. Daveis; the "Dangers and Duties of Men of Letters," a Phi Beta Kappa address by J. S. Buckminster; "A Discourse Upon the Philosophy of the Ancients;" "A Discourse Upon Importance of Literature to Our Country," another Phi Beta Kappa address, by a Mr. Dehon; "An Essay on Method," by John Adams; "Aboriginal Indians," by Paul Allen; and, "An Essay on Civilization," by William Emerson. Examples of the informal or personal essay are "Memoir on the Purring of Cats;" "A Dissertation Upon Things in General, After the Manner of Several Authors;" "Memoir on the Consumption of Cranberry Sauce," all by William Tudor; and, "Papers on Duelling," by T. Walcutt.

The essay of the eighteenth century was quite different from that of the seventeenth century. "Not individual morality and self-revelation, but politics, society and social institutions, manners, and customs constituted the

essayist's chief interest," said Tanner, author of Essays and Essay-Writing. It was also at this time that other types like "moral discourses, character-essays, and critical literary essays and reviews" made their appearance.[26] Thus it may be assumed that these essay forms were predominant at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The pure essay or "article" essay as opposed to the familiar is to be found in "A Review of the Eighteenth Century," published in the May 1805 issue of the Anthology. The author remarks first that the review will be confined to "the comparative state of the nations of the christian world, at the commencement and at the close of the Eighteenth Century; the improvements of the above period in sciences and arts; the state of religion and moral philosophy; and the important events of our own country."[27] Revolutions in France, and dissention within the governing powers of Spain, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Poland, Russia, and Italy, had done much to produce a Europe characterized by chaos and despair. The author stresses next the improvements in the

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[26]William M. Tanner, Essays and Essay-Writing, p. xv, xvi.

[27]Monthly Anthology, II (May, 1805), 223.

arts and sciences which have transpired during the years of the review. Newton's works were published during this century; and improvements in optics, chemistry, and medicine, for example, occurred. The author does confess, however, that "infidelity has assumed a more daring attitude, and uttered her blasphemies in a bolder tone." But he is confident that the power of truth is great, "and it will prevail."[28]

The author, consequently, has nothing but confidence in America. Population has increased, the wilderness has been explored, and settlements are being made. Such men as Adams and Hamilton in civil government; Winthrop and Rittenhouse in astronomy and mathematics; Benjamin Franklin in the field of electricity; Belknap, Ramsey, and Minot in history; Jefferson and Williams in natural history; and Mayhew, Edwards, Lathrop, and Clarke in divinity can all be entered on the roll call of fame.[29]

A published address entitled "On The Dangers and Duties of Men of Letters" was formal and didactic, and it constituted

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[28]Ibid., 226.

[29]Ibid., 227.

a warning to the members of the Phi Beta Kappa society not to "discard the love of virtue and of knowledge." The author first expresses concern over the dearth of good, solid scholars: "The men of letters who are to direct our taste, mould our genius, and inspire our emulation; the men, in fact, whose writings are to be the depositories of our national greatness, have not yet shown themselves to the world."[30] But hope, he claims, is to be had; for he feels that the ones he is addressing are destined to "witness the dawn of our Augustan age, and to contribute to its glory."

Buckminster gives in detail the dangers and evils of the man of letters. He may succumb to the politics of the day or he may be of the group who, "disgusted at the grossness which belongs to the common contests and occupations of active life, are in danger of entirely relinquishing its real duties in the luxurious leisure of study."[31] He feels, too, that scholars are often employed in "loose and undirected studies," and dissipated all their energies before becoming learned in any one field. Buckminster also lists as a

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[30] Ibid., VII (September, 1809), 148.

[31] Ibid., 150.

"dangerous infirmity of scholars," the temptation or actual succumbing to imitation of genius. By that he means the undesirable trait by which the scholar or writer was known. He lists in particular, the vulgarity of Dryden; the malice of Churchill, and the foulness of Swift.[32]

In the closing pages of the essay the author reminds his readers that "truth is indeed the ultimate object of human study; and though the pleasure of learning is often in itself a sufficient motive and reward, yet are we not to forget that we all owe something to society."[33] The obligation of the educated man is to make use of his education and consider of what use he can be to mankind. There is no short cut to reputation, reports Buckminster. And if there is one thing which "particularly distinguishes the literature of the seventeenth century from that of the present times, . . . it is that then the men of letters were willing to study, and now they are in haste to publish. That was the age of scholars; this of readers and of printers."[34]

Not to be omitted is Buckminster's appeal to "reverence for the gospel." Buckminster's closing thought is of Harvard University, his listeners' Alma Mater. He cautions them, in

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[32]Ibid., 154.

[33]Ibid., 155.

[34]Ibid., 156.

saying: "Let it always be ranked among the most urgent and honourable of our duties, to consult her interests, to watch over her renown, and to gain for her the patronage of the community."[35]

The essays contained in the Anthology are not only formal and informal in nature, but differ in one other respect. One usually thinks of an essay as the treatment of a subject--consisting of only one paper or article. But the journal contained essay series--several or more essays, published monthly, but all being under a specific title or heading. One such example was "Remarks on English Translations of the Roman Poets," by Dr. Willard, classicist at Harvard College. The series was fifteen in number, and they appeared quite regularly in the pages of the Anthology from January 1809 through June 1811.

Willard in this series selected the outstanding Roman poets and British writers who had translated their principal works. He consequently compared the success of their endeavors in pointing out where he thought the translator had erred.

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[35]Ibid., 157.

Willard presented first the requisites or qualities of a competent translator. In brief, "they consist in a faithful representation of the ideas of the original author, an imitation of his manner, and a strict regard to the idiom of the language into which he is translated."[36] Willard selected a different poet for each essay, and then translations by various writers. Virgil, Lucan, Lucretius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Terence, and Ovid are but a few of the Romans selected for study. The author had previously published several selections under this title in the Literary Miscellany, a publication which lasted only two years.

In summation, Willard comments on translators and their skill in their craft:

> Virgil has spoken with harmony and strength in the numbers of Dryden and Pitt, and Lucan has been recognized in the dress of Rowe. Creech has been true to the sense of Lucretius, though he has fallen far short of his author, and made him dull as well as didactick. With Horace, Francis has become grave or satyrical, delicate or loose. Drummond has made poetry of Persius where he understood him, and where his author was unintelligible he has made him write sense. Juvenal has found a translator worthy of commendation in Gifford, who has generally softened what was harsh, and refined what was too gross for modern appetites.

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[36] Ibid., VI (January, 1809), 8.

> For the lovers of the drama Colman has rendered Terence, and has preserved much of his spirit and delicacy. Ovid has had his admirers; and Garth occasionally relinquished the theory of medicine to recreate himself with the extravagance of the Metamorphoses, and to superintend the printing of an anonymous translation.[37]

The essay "Memoir on the Consumption of Cranberry Sauce" is in reference to the French missionaries who were sent to various countries, and especially others, called scavans, "who travelled as private individuals, but who furnished memoirs and information on persons and things, which have aided that government in their intercourse with foreign nations."[38] Because the French were known for writing memoirs on all conceivable subjects, Tudor humorously presented this one which he asserted had "never been published in the United States." The reader is supposed to assume that the writer of this essay is a Frenchman. After commenting on the topographical locale where the cranberry is to be found, and discussing the manner by which they are prepared for the table, the author supposedly experiments with the beneficial effects of cranberries on the complexion.

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[37] Ibid., 9.

[38] Ibid., V (October, 1808), 535.

He secured the services of a fourteen-year old servant girl and prevailed upon her to eat only cranberries for a week. Instead of thriving on this sustenance, she grew pale and developed fever. He said that he could have pursued the experiment no further, as she threatened to run away, and the most senseless clamour would have ensued, if any ill consequences should have happened to her.[39]

E. Letters

As a literary form, informal letters proved to be very popular in the Anthology. As surveyed in the journal, the letters may be categorized as follows: (1) the essay-type letter, usually having a pseudonym as signature (examples of this form are "On the Absurdity of Some Popular Opinions in Harvard College," and "History of a College Rake," both signed by "Studiosus);" (2) the pseudo letter such as those addressed "To Constance from Cornelia," and "To Cornelia from Constance," all written by the same person; (3) the personal letters exchanged between friends; and (4) the travel letters, which gave to the reader an aura of mystery and

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[39]Ibid., 535-537.

adventure. Only the last three categories, however, are pertinent to this study.

1. Pseudo

The several pseudo letters of "Constance to Cornelia," and conversely, from "Cornelia to Constance," which appeared in the February, March, and July 1805 issues, were all by Miss Emerson, William Emerson's sister. In these letters Miss Emerson presents a subject or point for discussion, and then, after giving her views, "asks" her "correspondent" for hers. Cornelia, in one, is concerned with the death of a Mrs. . . . which was previously described by Constance. After pronouncement on the wonders of faith, she resolves that

> true wisdom should engage us to employ with activity each moment allowed us, to seek unceasingly the favour of our Maker, and thus prepare for that death which is inevitable; instead of regarding it as a probable, but very distant event, and amusing ourselves in the interim with fancying the scenes, to which it may introduce us.[40]

In another missive, again to Constance, Cornelia mentions the poet Cowper, and his life "written by the elegant and affectionate Hayley." She admits that Hayley presents

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[40]Ibid., I, 395.

the reader with a favorable portrait. "But," she continues, "there are dangers in this species of biography; and on the whole, which do you think most beneficial to the cause of virtue and science, the tender partiality of Hayley, or the stern investigation of Johnson?"[41] This question is resolved in a letter from Constance to Cornelia, dated May 13, 1805, in which Constance criticizes Johnson "for his severity and inflexibility as a commentator, especially on Cowper."

2. Personal

The most intimate as well as engaging of the personal letter series contained in the Anthology are those of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, one of the most spirited letter writers of her day. In a letter to a Mrs. W. B., dated September 19, 1776, from Chaillot, she gives her opinion on several aspects of the French way of life: "In every thing," she says, "they seem to think perfection and excellence to be that, which is at the greatest distance from simplicity. I verily believe,

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[41] Ibid., II (February, 1805), 72-73.

that if they had the ambrosia of the gods served at their table, they would perfume it, and they would make a ragout sauce to nectar."[42]

In one of two original letters giving accounts of two tours in Scotland, in 1766 and 1770, she speaks of the poet Gray's shyness when he was in Scotland, and she chides the idea of his being too aloof to mix socially:

> When a man of celebrated talents disdains to mix in common conversation, or refuses to talk on ordinary subjects, it betrays a latent pride. There is a much higher character, than that of a wit, or a poet, or a savant; which is that of a rational and sociable being, willing to carry on the commerce of life with all the sweetness, and condescension, decency and virtue will permit.[43]

She does, nevertheless, hope to see Gray. "I think he is the first poet of the age," says Mrs. Montagu, "but if he comes to my fire-side, I will teach him not only to speak prose, but to talk nonsense, if occasion be. I would not have a poet always sit on the proud summit of the forked hill."[44]

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[42] Ibid., V (January, 1808), 35.

[43] Ibid., IV (November, 1807), 578.

[44] Ibid., 581.

There are several letters between Mrs. Montagu and Lord Kames, and their devotion to one another is undisguised. On one occasion Lord Kames expresses concern over Mrs. Montagu's health: "Your hints, though very slight of want of health, alarm me. You ought to be immortal; because there are some persons, rare indeed, who cannot be replaced; but that soul of yours, active and vigourous, is enough to wear out any body, not to talk of a delicate female constitution."[45]

Mrs. Montagu could be concerned, too, with the gossip of the day; and in one letter in particular, to a Mrs. Robinson, a gay nobleman of the day was exposed. A young Earl had run off with a young miss and had written his wife telling her that "he had quitted her forever; that she was too good and too tender for him; and he had so violent a passion for Missy, he could not help doing as he did."[46] Mrs. Montagu's disapproval was evident, in her saying: "His affections are as uncertain, as they are unlawful and ungenerous. Nothing more than a total want of honour, and honesty, is necessary to make a man follow the dictates of a loose,

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[45] Ibid., V (June, 1808), 306.

[46] Ibid., IV (December, 1807), 652.

unbridled passion."[47] But the blame was not to fall on the young Earl nor on the young girl, but instead upon a notorious writer of that period. The girl, it seems, "was a great lover of French novels; and much enamoured of Mr. Rousseau's Julie. How much have these writers to answer for, who make vice into a regular system, gild it with specious colours, and deceive the mind into guilt."[48]

3. Travel

An interest in travel was growing steadily during the early part of the nineteenth century. Information pertaining to the mores and lives of Europeans were of especial interest to the American public, and many of the intelligentsia, particularly of Boston, looked to Europe for a standard or model in the fields of philosophy and art. Although the move toward graduate study in European universities did not come until after the first decade of the century, the period encompassed by the Anthology saw persons such as S. C. Thacher, J. S. Buckminster, William Tudor, William Scollay, Edward

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 653.

Everett, and Benjamin Welles journeying to the continent. The "Travel Letters" featured in the journal often found their origin in an author's personal diary or a journal, which he kept religiously exact while abroad. Called upon to contribute articles of interest, the author sought out these personal accounts, and, in all probability, polished up the composition and arrangement of details for the Anthology. Some of these accounts, such as "Extracts from the Journal of a Gentleman on a Visit to Lisbon," and "Journal of Tour from Cadiz to Seville," by William Scollay, were not published as travel letters per se. But because their tone and informality of style are like that of the letters, they are included in this section.

The letters were usually addressed to friends or relatives, and the style was casual and intimate. Being very informally written, they were very readable, and undoubtedly were of great interest to the reader of that day as they are indeed of interest to the student or literary historian of the present day.

The two letter series which prove to be of especial interest and which ran the longest in the Anthology were "Letters from Europe," by William Tudor (seven in all), and

"Original Letters from an American Traveler in Europe to Friends in this Country," by John Lowell. The latter series ran monthly from January 1807 through August of 1809 a total of thirty-two letters in all.

The letters of William Tudor were the result of a tour of Europe early in 1802. They were all from, and about, Naples, and ran from January 1806 through July 1806. Most of the accounts of the customs and manners of Europeans were highly critical, and Tudor proved to be no exception. Although he saw much to admire in Italy, principally the churches, lakes, and art galleries, he was highly critical of the Neapolitans. He found the physical appearance of the citizens of particular interest. The men, he said, were large in stature and some of them "are celebrated for their personal strength: but their indolent manners and inactive appearance make them appear incapable of strong exertions."[49] And although Tudor allowed the women much credit for their "universally fine eyes, sparkling, penetrating, and full of expression," he exclaimed that a "fine complexion is seldom seen, and their

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[49]Ibid., III (June, 1806), 284.

excessive indolence encourages corpulency, to which they are most of them subject."[50]

Very little escaped William Scollay's attention, either, and he felt that even the bizarre needs recording. The peasants and servants of Lisbon are to him dirty and lazy. He said that they often were seen stretched out on the ground, their heads in each other's laps, picking lice from their hair. But this practice was not, however, limited only to the rabble. For we are told that "persons of condition so far from being ashamed to allow others to lessen the number of the inhabitants that dwell on the surface of their skulls, will not hesitate in company to perform the same office for themselves."[51] Even young ladies often "vie with each other who shall slay most in a limited time." The ultimate indignity suffered by Scollay, was the occasion when a servant was standing behind his chair while he was eating, "industriously cracking his captives on the back of it."

Perhaps the thing most noticeable to the reader of these travel letters is the exceptional inquisitiveness of

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., XI (March, 1811), 155.

mind possessed by the author, as well as the minute observations which are recorded for the reader back in America. In his writing of Europe, it is the commonplace which in many ways interests John Lowell. Paintings by the masters, religious relics, fine music and opera, as well as the architecture of the great edifices which he views, merits, of course, much of his praise. But in a visit to Pompeii the implements and furniture which have been recently unearthed attract his attention. He describes in detail the iron tires used for wheels. He notes that the tires

> resemble ours in form, width, and diameter: they consisted of a single hoop, as the English ones now generally do. The iron boxes and hoops to the hubs of the wheels, were precisely the same as they now are . . . . All these little parts are as perfect as ever, and shew that we have not only not improved, but have not varied.[52]

And on another occasion, Lowell has the opportunity of seeing the collection of antiquities in the Museum at Portico, Italy. He observes that the "quality and colour of the earthen ware are almost the same as those of our common ware, manufactured at Charlestown" and also that the "iron weights, used by the Romans, are precisely like those

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[52]Ibid., IV, (September, 1807), 484.

used by our merchants."[53] He poses many questions to his correspondents which he thinks "worthy of reflection." He is puzzled first as to why the Romans made no use of wooden casks, but instead preferred earthen vessels, called amphorae; and secondly, he wonders as to the reason why the vessels have such a small a bottom as to prevent them from being stood up without support. He concludes that "the forms are extremely various, as well as their capacity, but they have generally this (what we should consider) defect, which I leave to your wiser heads to explain."[54]

By way of concluding the section of travel letters, John Lowell's own ideas as to what should be included in any account of foreign travel should be applicable here:

> Information, it appears to me, ought to be the object, which a traveller should pursue, and which he should communicate to his friends. We read travels to learn the manners, customs, usages, characters and peculiarities of other countries; but there is a sort of lullaby description of ordinary events, which we meet with in the common books of travels, which is the most tiresome, and indeed sickening, that I can conceive of.[55]

The traveler of which he is speaking often begins his account with phrases such as: "'The morning was serene and unclouded;

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[53] Ibid., (March, 1807), 126.

[54] Ibid., (September, 1807), 485.

[55] Ibid., VI (February, 1809), 91.

the sun, which just appeared above the horizon, shone majestically bright; the tunesters of the grove inspired by the beauty of the day, melodiously warbled forth their joy.'"[56]

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[56] Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

THE BOSTON ATHENAEUM

The Boston Athenaeum, a privately-owned library now in its own hundred and fifty seventh year, had its humble beginning at one of the meetings of the Monthly Anthology Society. The following was recorded in the Minutes for Wednesday, October 23, 1805:

> It was Voted on motion of Mr. Emerson, seconded by Mr. Shaw, that a LIBRARY of periodical publications be instituted for the use of the Society. Mr. Gardiner then offerred to present a large number of the Volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine. This offer was accepted & the thanks of the Society were on motion presented to him therefor. Mr.Emerson made an offer of 20 vols. of the European Magazine, Monthly Magazine, Analytical & Critical reviews, & various vols. of Newspapers. The thanks of the Society were presented to him for these gifts. Mr. Tudor offerred to present several N^{os} of the Mercure de France & La Decade. This offer was accepted. Mr. Shaw presents various N^{os} of the Anti Jacobin, & he received the thanks of the Society.[1]

On Friday, May 2, 1806, the entry in the Minutes read: "the only business transacted was relative to a reading room to be established in this town." On the motion of Mr. Shaw,

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[1]Minutes, p. 41.

"a Committee of five was appointed to consider the whole affair to report to the Society."[2] Then at the next meeting on May 5, 1806, it is recorded that "Mr. Shaw read & proposed a prospectus. . . . The name of the establishment was agreed to be 'The Anthology Reading Room.' Mr. Shaw's amended prospectus was at length accepted by general consent & it was determined that the same should be printed."[3]

These modest beginnings, therefore, formed the nucleus of what later was to be the Boston Athenaeum Library. At a meeting on Thursday, October 30, 1806, it was voted that the administration of the Library be transferred to five trustees: Mr. Emerson, Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Walter.

The person who was greatly responsible for promoting and furthering the Athenaeum was William S. Shaw, affectionately called "Athenaeum Shaw." It was Shaw's practice to impose upon any one going to Europe, to secure books, pamphlets, and assorted publications in order to better equip the Library. In July of 1809, for instance, Shaw writes to a Henry Higginson who is soon to go abroad, and incloses an

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[2]Ibid., 72-73.

[3]Ibid., 73.

order for books. Although some are from England, Shaw is particularly interested in the books from Italy which, Higginson is told, "are of rarer value, more difficult to be procured, and which of course you will attend to as your leisure permits."[4] Shaw wants Higginson to purchase every book he can find in Italy which is relative to America, for, he says, "it is a great object with me to procure every book, in every language, that was ever written respecting our own country."[5]

A particularly able "volunteer" was Reverend Buckminster, a member of the Society, and who was in Europe during 1806 and 1807. He traveled through Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and, of course, England, where he did most of his "book hunting." A considerable part of his time was spent "in collecting and sending to America a valuable library of the choicest writers in theological, classical, and general literature, amounting to about three thousand volumes."[6] In a letter to his sisters, dated December 19,

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[4]Joseph B. Felt, op. cit., p. 270.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Eliza Buckminster Lee, Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, p. 259.

1806, he says: "My principal employment here has been collecting books. Works in theology may be bought for a trifle, and I have gone to the full extent of my resources in collecting a very large library."[7] Although all this was in respect to his own interests, he did, nevertheless, find time to purchase books in behalf of the Society. Shaw sent him $600 and instructed him to acquire books, pamphlets, and gazettes. Of the money, Buckminster is told that "five hundred of which are to be expended in procuring books for the reading-room, and to be sent out as early in the spring as possible."[8] The following letter from London, dated March 18, 1807, indicates both the care Buckminster took in exercising judgment on the orders sent to him by Shaw as well as the frugality with which he purchased books. As will be noted, he omitted many because of their exorbitant price:

> The works on commerce I send because they are the best, and because you mentioned some of them. Chalmers's British Essayists, because particularly mentioned in your letter; the same with Virgil's Seasons of Honey. In the article dictionaries, I was unwilling to give

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[7] Ibid., 285.

[8] Ibid., 395.

> ten or twelve guineas for Facciolati's, when you may get it for seventy-five guilders in Holland; or five guineas for an Elzivir Scapula, when I think it may be found in Boston for much less; or fourteen guineas for Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, when I know it can be procured for much less in Paris.[9]

In another letter to Buckminster, on December 13, 1806, Shaw refers to the six hundred dollars already sent and says, further: "Rare books relative to the history of this country, or the West India Islands, &c. &c., ought to be obtained. The publications of literary associations of eminence in Great Britain we ought to procure."[10] He is full of ideas for promoting the Athenaeum, and these he conveys to Buckminster. He advises him to give one of the copies of the prospectus, which he had sent earlier, "to every generous American, with some observation which may induce him to make some exertion to promote the interests of the establishment."[11]

The Society soon realized its limitations in obtaining a library of rank in these first years of its history. In

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[9] Ibid., 405.

[10] Felt, Memorials, p. 229.

[11] Ibid., 231.

a letter of April 3, 1807, Buckminster says:

> I am in great doubt about the propriety of applying to any societies here for an exchange of publications; for alas! what have we to exchange? The Bath, Manchester, Dublin, etc., Society papers are extremely valuable; but I think our funds are not yet sufficient to procure them. We must, at least for some time, think of popularity; and I know of no method so likely to procure it, as to keep our rooms furnished with abundance of magazines, pamphlets, and new books. This, I am satisfied, should be our first object; and our second, to lay slowly and diligently the foundation of a permanent library of works difficult to be procured in America.[12]

As a model for their venture, the Society used the laws regulating the administration of the Liverpool Athenaeum, furnished by Buckminster. "It is an admirable institution," stated Shaw in a letter to Buckminster, "and we intend to make ours as much like that as the different circumstances of the two countries will admit."[13] The merits of the Liverpool Athenaeum are further disclosed in a letter which Buckminster wrote to the Society and which was published in the Anthology. He revealed that in Liverpool he found "more of lettered taste, and sound science, and real, active habitual, literary enthusiasm," than he remembered ever seeing

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[12]Lee, op. cit., p. 409.

[13]Ibid., 393.

in Boston. His envy is understandable, and he admits that Liverpool "has now reached that point of wealth, at which societies, which have been hitherto merely mercenary and commercial, begin to turn their attention to learning and the fine arts, that is, when they perceive that something more than great riches is necessary to make a place worthy of being visited, and interesting enough to be admired."[14] He forwards the list of the library and thinks that the collection is the most select that he has ever known. "O when will the day come," he cries,

> when the library of our dearly cherished Athenaeum shall boast of including the labours of Muratori, the Thesauri of Graevius and Gronovius, the Scriptores Byzantini, the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, the editiones optimae of every author of Greece and Rome, the French and English literary journals ab initio, and not only possess these books, but have them always accessible to every man of letters, who wishes to consult them![15]

A memoir "concerning the history, objects, and present state of the Boston Athenaeum," which appeared in the May 1807 issue of the Anthology, maintained that the

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[14]Monthly Anthology, IV (November, 1807), 597.

[15]Ibid.

Athenaeum was to have a large and roomy Reading Room,

> furnished with seats, tables, pens, ink, and paper; and to contain all the celebrated gazettes, published in any part of the United States . . . with magazines, reviews, and scientifick journals in the English, French, and other modern languages . . . and the interesting publications of the day as they appear.[16]

The Athenaeum was to serve many: the business man; the merchant who would be able to "consult a large collection of those works which relate to commerce;" the historian as well as reader of history who "will here be able to perfect their information by a recourse to standard works of general and particular history; and especially such as relate to our own country." Finally, the reader learns to his surprise, the ladies will have access to the library; and they will be permitted to attend "a plan of instruction by lectures;" and "by their admission to this privilege, as well as by the use of the circulatory books of the library, and the right of access to the other apartments, they will have more than an indirect share in the adventures of the Athenaeum."[17]

In 1807 the terms of the subscription to the Athenaeum

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[16] Ibid., (May, 1807), 225, 226.

[17] Ibid., 226-230.

was, in part, as follows: the number of shares was not to exceed one hundred and fifty, and no person could hold more than three shares. The cost of each share was three hundred dollars. It was also intended to include life subscriptions, and the price of a life share was one hundred dollars. It was proposed, too, that the government of the Boston Athenaeum was to be invested in the Proprietors or in members of the Society which they were willing to appoint.[18] Not long after publication of this memoir, "one hundred and fifty shares, at $300 a share, (the number limited by the terms of subscription) were obtained, as also several life-shares at $100, and many annual subscribers at $10."[19]

It was also at this time that a group of men of letters, who participated in what was called "Bowyer's historick lottery," presented a copy of "Bowyer's edition of Hume's History of England, in 10 vols. folio, with plates," to the Trustees of the Athenaeum. This gesture was characteristic of the literary spirit which was possessed by the Boston intelligentsia. The value of the Athenaeum to

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[18] Ibid., 234.

[19] Ibid., (November, 1807), 599.

the general citizenry was considered by at least one author, in his saying:

> It is a subject of high congratulation to record the establishment of an institution in the metropolis of New-England, which will be useful to various classes of our citizens; which will assist and facilitate the researches of the learned, attract and gratify the ingenuous curiosity of strangers. Let men of leisure and opulence patronise the arts and sciences among us; let us all love them, as intellectual men; let us encourage them, as good citizens. In proportion as we increase in wealth, our obligations increase to guard against the pernicious effects of luxury, by stimulating to a taste for intellectual enjoyment; the more we ought to perceive and urge the importance of maintaining the laws by manners, manners by opinion, and opinion by works, in which genius and taste unite to embellish the truth.[20]

But the question of whether or not the public was allowed access to what is now the "largest private library in the United States," is naturally brought to one's mind, especially when one considers the notice which appeared in the Boston News-Letter and City Record for February 25, 1826. The article stated the problem very succinctly:

> "When the poor are favored with admission to study the neatly fitted up shelves of books which adorn the Athenaeum, we shall be convinced of the necessity as well as worth of it, and not before. Things are becoming quite royal in our venerable old city: money buys a ticket for the wealthy to read the Hebrew language,

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[20] Ibid., 601.

while the industrious, worthy portion of the community, may intellectually starve upon a six-penny almanack."[21]

The progress of the Boston Athenaeum was rapid and constant. The informal library was incorporated as the Boston Athenaeum on February 13, 1807, and its first residence under this name was in what was then "Scollay's Buildings," Tremont Street, and what is now known as Scollay Square. In 1809, a scarce two years later, expansion was necessary, so the "residence of Rufus G. Amory, Esq.," located north of King's Chapel Burying Ground, was acquired. Until June 1822 this sufficed. Then the library made its fourth and final more to Beacon Street in April of 1847.[22]

In 1821 one hundred new shares were authorized; and in 1826 "fifty more were authorized and sold, bringing the total number of shares to three hundred."[23] One means of increasing the number of shares invested in the Athenaeum and, consequently, also increasing the wealth of the Library, was by merger. In April 1817 the American Academy of Arts and Sciences removed its library to the Athenaeum. And in

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[21]The Boston Athenaeum, The Influence and History of the Boston Athenaeum, From 1807 to 1907 With a Record of Its Officers and Benefactors and a Complete List of Proprietors, 1907, p. 30. (Hereafter to be called Athenaeum Centenary.)

[22]Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[23]Ibid., p. 30.

a report of a committee of the trustees of the Boston Athenaeum made to the Proprietors on May 25, 1826, it was stated that the Medical Library of Boston had been incorporated into the Athenaeum:

> This library now forms a part of the Athenaeum. The proprietors of the Medical Library, being thirtyone in number, were entitled to life rights in the Athenaeum, with the privilege of exchanging such life rights for full shares, by paying each an additional sum of one hundred and fifty dollars; thirty of these proprietors have taken shares in the Athenaeum, paying in all, the sum of four thousand five hundred dollars; so that the property of the Athenaeum is increased more than nine thousand dollars by this union.[24]

The Scientific Association as well as the American Academy, and the Historical Society, were also included in a merger with the Athenaeum, and arrangements similar to that made with the Medical Library did much to advance the position of the Boston Athenaeum.

It was exactly one hundred and forty years from the year when the Athenaeum made its final move to Beacon Street that an article appeared in Harper's Magazine, giving the present-day reader a view of this famous library. At this

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[24]"Report of a Committee of the Trustees of the Boston Athenaeum, made to the Proprietors, May 25, 1826," North American Review, XXIII, July, 1826, 207.

time the Athenaeum shares number over 1,000 and although a few "change hands from time to time at prices which have ranged from a low of $152.50 to a high of $900,"[25] the majority remain in the possession of the descendants of the original owners.

The Athenaeum's collection of Americana has been unrivalled. In August of 1954 the Athenaeum's staff "was approaching completion of a seven-year-old project: the compilation of a comprehensive check list of the more important extant Civil War documents in the country, including newspapers, letters, memoranda, and diaries. Of the 5,000 items on the list, more than half are to be found at the Athenaeum."[26] The Athenaeum "also contains such New England memorabilia as a copy of America's first newspaper, The Boston News-Letter; a bronze cast of Walt Whitman's hand, and the autobiography of Walton the Highwayman, bound in his own skin."[27]

The attention the Athenaeum has paid to fiction is

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[25]Cleveland Amory, "Boston's Old Guard," Harper's Magazine, 195, October 1947, 321.

[26]"Athenaeum Revisited," Newsweek, 44, August 2, 1954, 75.

[27]Ibid.

much less than at the more conventional public libraries: "In contrast with other libraries of its size, which devote in some cases as much as half of their total book population to novels, the Athenaeum--which has five floors and a basement--devotes only part of one floor to any kind of fiction."[28] In order to attain a permanent resting place in the Athenaeum, this fiction has to be tested by time, and selections of works by new authors are picked with discrimination. Slips which are attached to the backs of books written by novices read: "'Readers who care to express an opinion of this book for the guidance of others may do so below. An opinion should contain not more than five words and should be followed by the initials of the reader.'"[29]

The success of the Boston Athenaeum--especially with respect to the solid foundation it received in its early years, thus assuring the permanence that it enjoys today--to a large degree must be attributed to the dedicated efforts of its founder, William S. Shaw. He was untiring in his

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[28]Amory, op. cit.

[29]Ibid.

endeavor to make the Boston Athenaeum a library of distinction--a landmark that would be known to the literary-minded throughout the United States. He, too, became well-known because of his work with the Athenaeum. From 1810 onward he received letters from people in places such as Newport and Providence, Rhode Island; Portland, Maine; and Lexington, Kentucky; who were planning to have institutions similar to the Athenaeum erected in these cities, and who were asking for his advice on their management. In one letter a Mr. Samuel Ewing of Philadelphia confessed: "I do not know of any one, to whom we could apply with better hopes than yourself. I am sure there is no one who feels more zeal in the cause of letters than yourself."[30]

Not only did Shaw labor in the best interests of the Athenaeum, but he also acquired, throughout his life, a valuable collection of coins, medals, and rare books, which he deposited in the Library. After his death, arrangements were made with Shaw's brother-in-law and executor, the Reverend Joseph Felt, who relinquished all rights to the collection.

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[30]Felt, op. cit., pp. 301-302.

It therefore became a part of the valuables contained in the Boston Athenaeum. William Shaw's service as Secretary was from the Athenaeum's inception in 1805 through January 23, 1823; and as Secretary, for one year longer. Three years later, on April 26, 1826, he died at the age of forty-eight.[31]

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[31] Ibid., 329.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

> After having for so many years found, in preparing materials for this work, the amusement and solace of our leisure hours, and in the little circle, which interest in its welfare has weekly brought together, an innocent and cheerful, if not always very philsophick relaxation, we feel, in finally dismissing it from our hands, something of that sadness steal over us, which is experienced in losing a good-natured and long-tried, though not perhaps very valuable friend.[1]

With these words, the editors informed the public that the Monthly Anthology would no longer be published. Their reasons were realistic and uncomplicated. They had had intentions of obtaining the services of a paid editor, to take over the duties previously left to several members of the Society. Andrews Norton was willing to undertake the position of editor if he were assured of five hundred dollars and a "percentage on the increase of subscribers." But the receipts from the journal were insufficient to justify this action.

Another primary factor in the Society's discontinuing

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[1]Monthly Anthology, X (June, 1811), 361.

publication of the Monthly Anthology was that its ranks were being "thinned by desertion and death." As can be seen by reading the Minutes of the Society's meetings, there was a decided lack of interest in the Anthology by the remaining members of the Society. At the meeting on May 14, 1811, for example, only Mr. Cooper, who owned the rooms where the Club held its meetings, was able to record the events of the evening:

> Mr. Welles went at the usual time, but being unwilling to sit down to a solitary supper, he left the covers unmoved and after waiting half an hour went away. He had but just gone when Mr. Savage entered, but meeting no one and finding himself less pleasant company than he liked, he too departed and with him fled all hopes of collecting enough members to make a session.[2]

But another immediate reason contributing to the Anthology's demise was the difficulties the Society had with local printers. All the problems that the Society had with the printers are to be found recorded in the Minutes.

Although the problem is not explained at length, the reader learns from an entry dated November 4, 1807, that "the funds were in a bad state by the negligence & niggardliness of the printers." It was decided subsequently, that because

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[2]Minutes, p. 254.

of the exorbitant demands of Munroe & Francis, i. e., not wanting to give up the list of subscribers and wanting the Society to pay twelve hundred dollars, and "to take of them all the numbers of the Anthology from its commencement," they would enter into contract with the printers, Hastings, Etheridge and Bliss. On November, 1808, an arrangement was made for the payment by the printers of five hundred dollars per annum for three years. But on September 12, 1809, the entry reads that the Society had learned of the insolvency of Hastings, Etheridge & Bliss. Then on December 12, 1809, the entry reads:

> Mr. Savage made a Report about the printers, representing that T. B. Wait & Co. would take the Anthology for five years, and give four hundred & fifty Dollars for the three first years, and five hundred Dollars for the two next years; or they would take it for three years and give four hundred Dollars a year. The Gentlemen agreed to take the first offer.[3]

It would seem that the fortunes of the Anthology were about to turn for the better, but such was not the case. At the first of the year 1811, a letter was received from T. B. Wait & Company saying, "the numbers of subscribers has decreased, is decreasing and will probably decrease

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[3]Ibid., 217.

more, so that the sum of $450 by them paid to the Society the last year may be considered wholly lost."[4] In April the printers refused to pay their quarterly installments--two being due at this time. The solution to the problem was put off indefinitely, but at the April 16, 1811 meeting, Shaw is instructed "to make such an arrangement with them as he shall see fit." And though much discussion must have followed, especially in determining the details and the amounts of money to change hands, no further mention of the problem is to be found in the Minutes.

The principal reason for the demise of the Monthly Anthology was the lack of subscribers. Actually, all the reasons for discontinuing the journal were a direct result of this one. The Anthology never did have a very satisfactory number of subscribers. In a letter from Munroe & Francis to William Shaw, their advice is that the "periodical must cease unless it has more subscribers; it has only 440, while the Literary Messager has 600, and the Port folio 1,500."[5]

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[4] Ibid., 247.

[5] Felt, op. cit., p. 215.

Lesser factors contributed to the magazine's failure. Contributors could not expect to receive any payment for their efforts. The payment seemed to be only the prestige that one might receive from being a part of a literary movement. And editors, as mentioned earlier, were expected to serve gratis. Advertising, it must be noted, was at this time at a minimum. All income was derived from subscriptions, and delinquent accounts were the rule rather than the exception. In writing of this problem, Eliza Lee Buckminster said: "There was at that time no class of literary men, and had there been, there was little encouragement given to literature. Low as was the price of the Anthology, it had far more readers than subscribers; and though the contributions were all gratuitous, it scarcely paid the expense of printing."[6] And finally, no magazine of this period was National in scope. The Monthly Anthology had some contributors from as far away from Boston as North Carolina, but the magazine actually reached few persons outside New England.

Practically all of the magazines being published during this period under study were short-lived. The Literary

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[6]Eliza Buckminster, op. cit., p. 225.

Magazine and American Register (Philadelphia) ran from 1803-1807; the Boston Weekly Magazine, from 1802-1806; and, the Companion and Weekly Miscellany (Baltimore), from 1804 through 1806. In comparison, the Monthly Anthology had a life-span that was to be envied.

Some of the literary periodicals, such as The Massachusetts Magazine (1789-1797), were directed "not only to the cultured at whom most magazines of the period were aimed, but also to the intelligent if less intellectual readers who had not yet been a recognized magazine audience."[7] The Massachusetts Magazine, in addition to printing the type of article to be found in the current magazines of the period, contained "plays, essays, engravings, and sentimental fiction."

The makeup of the journal as well as matters of content was established very early in its history. When William Emerson took over the helm in May of 1804, that issue carried the following communication:

> He [Editor] will indeed gratefully receive and carefully enrol all judicious communications relating to the science or arts of the country; interesting accounts

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[7]Wood, op. cit., p. 21.

> of illustrious characters, especially of such as are American; moral essays; ecclesiastical tracts; poetry; original remarks on new publications, mathematical problems, arithmetical calculations; important commercial notices; political speculations temperately written; meteorological observations; and any thing valuable, which serves to develope the natural, theological, or civil history of Massachusetts, and to enrich the annals of Columbian literature.[8]

Although the problems encountered by the Society in publishing the journal were at times overwhelming, the group could, nevertheless, summon up an example of wry humor, even in the face of adversity. When dissolution of the Club and the Anthology seemed eminent, the secretary noted the following in the Minutes for February 5, 1811:

> The momentous question of the continuance or dissolution of the Anthology was very humourously discussed, and there was on the whole but one opinion and that was that the club should not suffer it to be sent to its account with so little ceremony and that they would support it totis viribus, until the present volume shall be completed--that it would be very much to our discredit to have it stop at the commencement of this year after a succession of indifferent numbers and on the whole that it shall never die until it carry with it the regret of the publick.[9]

The aims of the Society in conducting the Monthly Anthology were restated in various forms throughout the ten

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[8]Monthly Anthology, I (May, 1804), 336.

[9]Minutes, pp. 247-8.

volumes. The Society attempted to mold the public taste to the finer aspects of literature, and to forsake the vulgar. In one statement made toward the end of the Anthology's existence, the editor stated that the principal design of the journal had been "to cultivate and gratify the taste of the lovers of polite letters . . . though we have rejected nothing which might appear, to aid the general cause of sound science."[10] In January of 1807 the editors mentioned the years past, and the accomplishment of their aims:

> In our selections, essays, and reviews, we have wished to aid the cause of classical learning, so extravagantly decried and presumptuously neglected in this age of innovators and sciolists. We have aimed to withstand corruptions in literature; and to establish the authority of those laws of composition, which are founded in nature, in reason, and in experience. In proposing our judgment of authors, we have frequently discussed as well doctrines and opinions, as method and style; and in this discussion we trust we have appeared, what we profess to be, in politicks neither worshippers nor contemners of the people . . . and in religion at once serious in belief and catholick in spirit.[11]

The aims of the Society in charge of conducting the

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[10] Monthly Anthology X (June, 1811), 362.

[11] Ibid., IV (January, 1807), 1.

Anthology are often viewed not as aims, but more as the common pitfalls in literary criticism which are to be carefully avoided:

> With whatever faults, however, it may have been chargeable, of this at least we are sure; that we have never knowingly suffered any sentiment of personal hostility to mingle with any of our criticism; nor to have we ever used the immunities of invisibility to shelter us in launching the "firebrands, arrows and death" of slander and malignity.--We claim also this merit, that we have never lent ourselves to the service of any party, political or theological; we have never courted the suffrages of the great vulgar; nor attempted to enlist the prejudices of the small; have never felt, in any discussion in which we have been engaged, that we have had any other cause to serve than that of truth and good learning.[12]

The two most controversial subjects in all periods are, in all probability, religion and politics. The Society was content in its belief that it was neither biased nor prejudiced in these two areas of thought. It felt that very little could be wrong with a publication run by men who were, among other things, "pledged to no party in religion or politicks, though, indeed, having their opinions on both, as every man must have, who loves his country and his God."[13]

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[12] Ibid., X (June, 1811), 363.

[13] Ibid., V (February, 1808), 122.

In expressing the position held by the Anthology Society with respect to politics, William Shaw commented:

> Whatever satisfaction as Americans we may derive from the freedom we will enjoy of expressing our political opinions on subjects which involve the welfare and happiness of our country, in our characters as reviewers it would not become us to enter into discussions of political men or measures; but we most fervently pray that such measures may be always adopted, and such men elected to offices of honour and responsibility, as will promote the honour and glory of our country.[14]

The disavowals by the Anthologists of partisanship in politics and theology are not borne out by the evidence contained in the journal. The Society members were to the contrary quite outspoken as to theological questions of the day. And although they did not always state their political preferences, they did, however, accomplish the same by inference.

The manner in which the Society conducted its literary criticism as well as making judgments on political and religious questions, was in direct contrast to that of its most formidable and more successful rival, the Port Folio of Philadelphia. The Port Folio, under Joseph Dennie's

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[14]Ibid., II (March, 1805), 161.

leadership, had more risque humor and gaiety, and without question was more satirical in questions of taste than was the Monthly Anthology. Dennie was often vituperative in his criticism of Jefferson and his politics. Noah Webster was assailed with venom by the Philadelphia magazine. Despite the methods employed by Dennie, his publication was more intimate and livelier than was the Monthly Anthology. Both Dennie and the Society saw the glaring faults in American writings. But whereas Dennie wrote ribald poems and scathing articles in order to expose these practices, the Anthology Society attempted to do the same, but in a more refined and sophisticated manner.

One of the most unfair accusations hurled at the Anthologists was that they had little National feeling, and that they deprecated everything indigenous to America. They felt, rightly enough, that the typical innovators of the day, whose only accomplishments consisted of publishing in the local newspapers or delivering orations in the small villages of New England, degraded the name of Poet and Author. In defending themselves against these charges, the Editors said:

> The worthless weeds spring up prematurely, and though it is an irksome, fatiguing employment, we are bound to contribute our efforts to eradicate them, lest they stifle and exhaust the nourishment from the valuable plants that are slower in their growth, but which will be in perfection, long after these have perished. To these may be added all who are stirrers up of sedition, in either church or state, and who of course address themselves to the most ignorant of the community; all those well-meaning men, who have mistaken virtuous, patriotick sentiments in rhyme, for poetick inspiration; the whole class of book-makers, the grand pest in Europe, but who in this country are still covered with their pinfeathers, and are just trying their wings, and whose only plausible plea must be founded on the favour due to domestick manufactures. All these classes would naturally accuse us of being deficient in national feeling, or what, in poor imitation of English arrogance, is called American feeling; and as we are willing to flatter ourselves, that the accusation will come from no one else, we hope our tranquillity on this account is not unreasonable.[15]

In this first decade of the nineteenth century there was much comment on the lack of interest in good literature as well as the absence of it. One writer felt that literary pursuits were generally ignored:

> It is not for the want of learning or genius, that the American poets are so little regarded, and that the publick quietly endure such contemptuous criticisms on their works. It is because, amidst the mutual clamorus of contending parties, not one reader in a thousand cares three cents about the poetical or literary honour of his country.[16]

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[15] Ibid., VIII (January, 1810), 4.

[16] Ibid., II (January, 1805), 9.

Another correspondent wondered why no one did anything to spread the glory of the English language. "We may say," states the author,

> that we have spice ships at the Philippines, and that our cannon has echoed among the ice islands, at either pole. This is honourable, and tells our enterprise; but here the story ends. . . . We boast of no epick, tragedy, comedy, elegies, poems, pastoral or amatory . . . but this field is all desart, a wide African sand garden, showing brambles, and rushes, and reeds.[17]

There was also much being written of what many persons called the money-getting age. This materialistic attitude of the people was evident to Daniel Webster. In a review of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," by Walter Scott, he had the following to say:

> In towns, where trade occupies every thought at all times and seasons, and in every company monopolizes the greatest share of conversation; where its maxims and spirit pervade every class of society, and would confine all mental exertion within its own contracted sphere; it must be peculiarly gratifying to the few, whose faculties are not shackled and benumbed, to read of other times, of other manners, of other men; with different objects in view, with more ardent, as well as nobler passions; and whose vices, while they neither exceeded in number or enormity those of later times, were balanced by many virtues; among which unbounded generosity, steady friendship, faithful love, and heroick valour, shone conspicuous.[18]

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[17] Ibid., III (November, 1806), 579.

[18] Ibid., (October, 1807), 547.

And a writer for the Anthology, in commending the editor of the Port Folio, said he "deserves the thanks of his countrymen for his perseverance in the ungrateful task of disciplining the taste of a money-getting age."[19]

Because the merchants of Boston were often benevolent toward various institutions throughout the city, any indictment against them was strongly resented by the Society. In a poem entitled "Picture of Boston," reprinted from the Port Folio, the author speaks in a derogatory manner of the merchants--"the tradeful sons" of Boston, and "the christian Jews on our exchange," who acknowledge gold as their God. In commenting on the situation, the Editors select two instances wherein merchants of the town donated large amounts of money in behalf of academic projects. One project was the professorship of natural history at Harvard University--established by voluntary subscription. The money raised exceeded thirty-thousand dollars, and the Editors claimed that not only was four-fifths of the amount subscribed by Boston merchants, but that four-fifths of the 294 subscribers were Boston merchants.[20]

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[19]Ibid., (April, 1806), 176.

[20]Ibid., IV (June, 1807), 293-294.

The Society was also indebted to the merchants of Boston for money raised for the Athenaeum Library. One of the chief benefactors to the Athenaeum was James Perkins, who with his brother was "engaged extensively in the trade to the North-west coast and to Canton." In 1821, when the need arose for more spacious quarters, the Anthology Society took advantage of Perkins' gracious offer of his mansion house on Pearl Street, valued at twenty thousand dollars.

Mr. Perkins was not a stranger to good reading. Early in life he formed "'a very familiar acquaintance with polite literature, particularly the English poets, and continued to devote his leisure to the perusal of the standard writers of the English and French languages.'"[21] Upon Perkins' death in 1822, his obituary read, in part: "The merchant's profession, as exhibited in the life of Mr. Perkins, was well worthy of the weight which the constitution of society gives it among us, and rose very far above a mere grasping zeal for the accumulation of money."[22]

Another benefactor of the Athenaeum was John Bromfield,

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[21]Quincy, op. cit., p. 184.

[22]Ibid., p. 82.

who, during a lengthy stay in China, acquired a considerable fortune. He continued to watch over it carefully--investing cautiously in new ventures in the Far East. He lived a very quiet and sedate life; and

> by the vigilant and careful investment of his small capital, by the rigid practise of economy, in seclusion from general society and from the temptations of vanity and amusement, by deducting scarcely any thing from his acquisitions beyond what was necessary to his own subsistence, and to that charity to others which he habitually practised, he gradually executed his plan of life, attained independence for himself, and the power of conferring important benefits on others and on the public.[23]

Before his death, Bromfield gave twenty-five thousand dollars to the Boston Athenaeum.

Merchants of New England were not known solely for their benevolence, but for their literary endeavors as well. A Mr. Head, an active contributor to the Anthology, was elected to the Society late in its history. He contributed addresses and in particular, translations of Horace's Odes.

A better known figure in New England was David Humphreys, who published several volumes of poetry--some of which were reviewed in the journal. Humphreys carried on

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[23]Ibid. (under Biographical Notices of Founders of the Boston Athenaeum), p. 99.

several branches of manufacture in Derby, Connecticut, and received much acclaim for the labor-saving devices he initiated. He not only employed women and children in his factories, but was lauded in a report by the General Assembly of Connecticut for his endeavors "to render the services of women and children more useful; and those of the latter more early useful."[24] And perhaps from a feeling that his responsibility to his employees should transcend their means of livelihood, Humphreys employed a school teacher for the children, and supported a minister for the benefit of his workers.

The Monthly Anthology's establishment of the only library of its kind in New England, if not in the entire country, is, perhaps, its greatest contribution to literature, culture, and learning. Throughout the years that the magazine was published, the editors solicited the indulgence of the public. And without exception, the plea was in behalf of the Boston Athenaeum Library:

> Our patronage, if not extensive enough to flatter our vanity, has been of a kind to content our ambition, and personal remuneration we never required, or would accept. The ground, on which we feel justified in making our request, is, that we do not beg for ourselves,

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[24]Monthly Anthology, VI (January, 1809), 68, 69.

> but for the Athenaeum, to which, after the necessary expenses are deducted, all the profits of the work are faithfully devoted . . . . He who gives us his subscription, is secure of not throwing away his money; for, however worthless he may find the Anthology, he is certain that he will contribute to the prosperity of an institution, which, we venture to foretel, will become the honour and pride of our city.[25]

The Athenaeum was, in the words of the Editors, to be "one of those institutions of which every scholar in most parts of our country feels the want . . . . which our government from its nature does not comprise within its cares . . . and which nothing but the industry and munificence of individuals will establish and supply."[26]

The Anthologists wanted the receipts of the publication to rise as high as possible so that the surplus funds could be applied to the support of the Library. And the increase in patronage would be "toward a general object of real importance:"

> Every judicious effort to promote the love of Letters and Arts is entitled to a countenance, for this, amoung other reasons, . . . that a progress in letters and arts corresponds to the progress of society in other respects, in our country. We are becoming familiar with wealth. Out of luxury grows luxury. If those enjoyments that flow from literature and taste are not emulated, we shall be exposed to that enervating and

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[25] Ibid., V (February, 1808), 121.

[26] Ibid., IV (January, 1807), 3.

> debasing luxury, the object of which is sensual indulgence . . . its immediate effect, vice . . . and its ultimate issue, publick degradation and ruin.[27]

Another contribution for which the Monthly Anthology can take credit, is that it was the forerunner of the North American Review, started by William Tudor, in 1815. According to De Howe, the North American Review "was truly at its inception less a new magazine than a revival of one that had ceased to be while many of its elements remained within call."[28]

It is difficult if not impossible to determine the influence, if any, that the Monthly Anthology had on the belle lettres, or on readers of the early nineteenth century. It was certainly interested in keeping the public informed of the current national and world events, as well as noting new works which were being published. And the magazine was undoubtedly instrumental in furthering the hopes of many a young inexperienced writer. But by means of its articles in the areas of education, science, religion, the Fine Arts, and political and foreign affairs, the Monthly Anthology endeavored

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[27] Ibid., 4.

[28] Minutes, p. 21.

to establish a high level of literary taste in a rapidly growing nation. The many reviews of books, sermons, and pamphlets served to emphasize the neoclassic ideal in literature--that of traditionalism--which was held by the Anthology. With a marked reverence for the Augustan Age and British writers of that period, the journal did not yield to popular demands but published instead only that material which could withstand an examination according to these standards.

The Anthologists were attempting to impose eighteenth-century literary standards of "correctness" on writings of the nineteenth century. They were not in the main stream of things--were not of the people. They were, rather, crusaders fighting for a lost cause. It was the beginning of an era of rising Republicanism. New words and ideas indigenous to the new Nation were being created, and the democratic masses were demanding a literature which expressed their feelings and desires.

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